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C. SUETONII TRANQUILLI VITA DOMITIANI

Suetonius's Life of Domitian with Notes and Parallel Passages

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I. DOMITIANUS(1) NATUS EST VIII KAL. NOVEMB.(2) PATRE CONSULE(3) DESIGNATO INITUROQUE MENSE INSEQUENTI HONOREM, REGIONE URBIS SEXTA(4) AD MALUM PUNICUM,(5) DOMO QUAM POSTEA IN TEMPLUM GENTIS FLAVIAE CONVERTIT.(6)

(1) Titus Flavius Domitianus[1]: Domitian's praenomen is nowhere expressly given, but was surely Titus, for those who received citizenship at his hands are called Titus Flavius; e. g., T. Flavius Abascantus[2] and T. Flavius Artemidoris.[3] His cognomen is clearly due to his mother's name, Domitilla. Similarly Vespasian's was taken from his mother's Vespasia Polla[4] and Petronianus's from Petronia.[5]

(2) *CIL.* 10.444 (Dessau 3546), et IX K. Novembr. natal. Domitiani Aug. n.

(3) 51 A. D.; cf. Fasti Consulares, ed. Liebenam p. 13: Imp. Claudius V (until Sept. 30): Ser. Cornelius (Scipio) Salvidienus Orfitus. Cal. Vet (us?) (for Orfitus, Sept. 27)—T. Flavius Vespasianus (Nov. 1, Dec., *Vesp.* 4). Cf. *Dom.* 17. 3.

(4) One of the fourteen regions into which the city was divided by Augustus. The sixth region was called the *Alta Semita* from a street which crossed the Quirinal on the line of the modern via Quirinale (Platner[2], p. 62).

(5) *Ad Malum Punicum* was a street on the Quirinal, probably corresponding with the modern via delle Quatro Fontane.[1] Similar expressions are *ad Capita Bubula*[2] and *ad Pirum*.[3]

(6) Martial[1] frequently mentions this temple in his ninth book, which was published in 94. Such expressions as *Augusti Flavia templa poli*,[2] *addita quid Latio Flavia templa polo*,[3] and *Flavium*

(1) [1] *Prosop.* 2.67 nr. 176; Gsell 3.1.
[2] *Ibid.* 2.62 nr. 136.
[3] *Ibid.* 2.65 nr. 156.
[4] *Vesp.* 1.3.
[5] *Vit.* 6.

(5) [1] Platner[2] 485; *Rh. M.* 1894. 399–401.
[2] *Aug.* 5.
[3] Mart. 1.117.6.

(6) [1] Mart. 9.1.8; 3.12; 20, 34.
[2] Mart. 9.34.2.
[3] Mart. 9.3.12.

PUBERTATIS AC PRIMAE ADULESCENTIAE TEMPUS TANTA INOPIA(7) TANTAQUE INFAMIA EGISSE(8) FERTUR, UT NULLUM ARGENTEUM VAS IN USU HABERET. SATISQUE CONSTAT CLODIUM POLLIONEM PRAETORIUM(9) VIRUM, IN

Caelum[4] are taken by Jordan[5] to indicate that the temple was round. But neither these nor any other passages justify such a statement. The magnificence of its fittings is attested by Martial 9.20.1: Haec, quae tota patet tegiturque et marmore et auro. Domitian intended the temple to be the family Mausoleum of the Flavian emperors. The ashes of Vespasian, Titus, and his daughter Iulia were transferred to it from the Mausoleum of Augustus.[6] The Flavian medallions on the arch of Constantine may perhaps have belonged to the temple of the gens Flavia.[7] The exact location of this building has been determined by the finding of a colossal bust of Vespasian.[8] Cf. *Dom.* 5.

(7) Domitian's youth fell in a period when his father, after his proconsulship in Africa (60 A. D.), was involved in financial difficulties (*Vesp.* 4.3; Tac. *H.* 3.65).

(8) All the mss. read *gessisse*, but it seems best to adopt the emendation *egisse* of Casaubon. This is the only instance in prose before Aurelius Victor[1] where there is undisputed ms. authority for *gerere* in exactly this sense with expressions of time. In the two passages usually quoted from Cicero[2] and Suetonius[3] in favor of *gessisse* there is also ms. authority for *agere*, and *vitam Chiam gessi* of Petronius[4] is not entirely analogous. Moreover Suetonius elsewhere[5] always uses *agere* with expressions of time.

(9) Known only from this passage.

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(6) [4] Stat. *Silv.* 4.3.19.
[5] Jordan-Hülsen 1.3.426.
[6] Stat. *Silv.* 5.1.240.
[7] Platner[2] 323.
[8] Bull. Com. 1873, p. 229.

(8) [1] Ps. Aur. Vict. *Epit.* 44.4.
[2] Cic. *Epist.* 4.5.3.
[3] *Vesp.* 24.
[4] Petr. *Sat.* 63.3.
[5] *Jul.* 1.1; *Aug.* 8.1, 61.2; *Cl.* 35.2; *Vit.* 3.2; *Vesp.* 4.2.

QUEM EST POEMA NERONIS(10) QUOD INSCRIBITUR LUSCIO,(11) CHIROGRAPHUM EIUS CONSERVASSE ET NONNUMQUAM PROTULISSE NOCTEM SIBI POLLICENTIS;(12) NEC DEFUERUNT QUI AFFIRMARENT, CORRUPTUM DOMITIANUM ET A NERVA SUCCESSORE MOX(13) SUO.

BELLO VITELLIANO CONFUGIT IN CAPITOLIUM(14) CUM PATRUO SABINO(15) AC PARTE PRAESENTIUM COPIARUM,(16)

(10) Nero was apparently in the habit of writing lampoons. Cf. Tacitus (*A.* 15.49): Quintianus mollitia corporis infamis et a Nerone probroso carmine diffamatus contumeliam ultum ibat.

(11) The form *Luscio, Luscionis* is an ἅπαξ λεγόμενον. It is perhaps to this poem that Persius (1.127) refers: non hic, qui in crepidas Graiorum ludere gestit Sordidus et lusco qui possit dicere: "lusce." For the probable meaning, cf. Isidorus: Luscus, quod lucem ex parte sciat, sicut luscitiosus, qui vesperi nihil videt (Isid. *Orig.*, 10.163).

(12) The scandal here related may be true and due to his neglected childhood and youth. He lost his mother and only sister, Domitilla, very early,[1] surely before 69, and when his father and brother left for the East in 66, Domitian was hardly fifteen years of age. But one should not attach too much importance to the story, as charges of this kind were common.[2]

(13) After Livy *mox* is often used with a past verb to denote temporal sequence.[1] *Mox* was not often used by the best writers. Caesar does not employ it at all; Cicero uses it once in his letters, and in his entire works twenty-five times. But in Plautus *mox* occurs thirty-eight and in Apuleius thirty-three times.[2]

(14) The flatterers of Domitian often refer to this episode.[1]

(15) Flavius Sabinus, son of Flavius Sabinus and Vespasia Polla was the Emperor Vespasian's elder brother (*Vesp.* 1.3). See Skerrett on Vesp. 1.3.

(16) The Flavian faction within the city.

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(12) [1] *Vesp.* 3; cf. Stat. *Silv.* 1.1.98; Quint. *Inst.* 4 prooem. 2.
[2] *Jul.* 2, 49.1; *Aug.* 68.

(13) [1] Cf. *Aug.* 47; *Nero* 6.2.
[2] Müllers *Handb.* 2.2.639, 4th ed., Schmalz.

(14) [1] Sil. 3.609; Stat. *Silv.* 1.1.79, *Theb.* 1.22; Mart. 5.5.7; 9.101.13.

SED IRRUMPENTIBUS ADVERSARIIS(17) ET ARDENTE TEMPLO(18) APUD AEDITUUM(19) CLAM PERNOCTAVIT,

Dio. 64 (65). 17. 2ff. κἀνταῦθα (Sabinus and his followers) τὸν Δομιτιανὸν τὸν τοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ υἱὸν, καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς αὐτοῦ μεταπεμψάμενοι, ἐν φυλακῇ ἐποιήσαντο. τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ προσβαλόντων σφίσι τῶν ἐναντίων χρόνον μέν τινα ἀπεκρούσαντο αὐτούς, ἐμπρησθέντων δὲ τῶν περὶ τό Καπιτώλιον, ἀνεκόπησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρός. καὶ οὕτως ἐπαναβάντες οἱ τοῦ Οὐιτελλίου στρατιῶται, ἐκείνων τε συχνοὺς ἐφόνευσαν, καὶ διαρπάσαντες πάντα τὰ ἀνακείμενα, κατέπρησαν ἄλλα τε καί τὸν ναὸν τὸν μέγαν, τόν τε Σαβῖνον καὶ τὸν Ἀττικὸν συλλαβόντες, πρὸς τὸν Οὐιτέλλιον ἔπεμψαν. Δομιτιανὸς δὲ καὶ Σαβῖνος ὁ τοῦ Σαβίνου παῖς, ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ θορύβῳ διαφυγόντες ἐκ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου, καὶ ἐς οἰκίας τινὰς καταχρυφθέντες ἐλελήθεσαν.

Tac. *H.* 3.69. Sabinus re trepida, quod tutissimum e praesentibus, arcem Capitolii insedit mixto milite et quibusdam senatorum equitumque . . . eoque concubia nocte suos liberos Sabinus et Domitianum fratris filium in Capitolium accivit, misso per neglecta ad Flavianos duces nuntio, qui circumsederi ipsos et, ni subveniretur, artas res nuntiaret. *Vit.* 15.3 (Vitellius) animum resumpsit Sabinumque et reliquos Flavianos nihil iam metuentis vi subita in Capitolium compulit.

Joseph. B. J. 4.11.4. ἀνεθάρρει δ' ἤδη καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην Σαβῖνος, ὡς πλησίον Ἀντώνιος ὢν ἀπηγγέλλετο. καὶ συναθροίσας τὰ τῶν νυκτοφυλάκων στρατιωτῶν τάγματα νύκτωρ καταλαμβάνει τὸ Καπετώλιον. μεθ' ἡμέραν δ' αὐτῷ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐπισήμων προσεγένοντο, καὶ Δομιτιανὸς ὁ τἀδελφοῦ παῖς, μεγίστη μοῖρα τῶν εἰς τὸ κρατεῖν ἐλπίδων. . . . τέλος δὲ τῷ πλήθει περιόντες οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Γερμανίας ἐκράτησαν τοῦ λόφου. καὶ Δομιτιανὸς μὲν σὺν πολλοῖς τῶν ἐν τέλει Ῥωμαίων διαμονιώτερον διασώζεται τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλῆθος ἅπαν κατεκόπη, καὶ Σαβῖνος ἀναχθεὶς ἐπὶ Οὐιτέλλιον ἀναιρεῖται, διαρπάσαντες θ'οἱ στρατιῶται τἀναθήματα τὸν ναὸν ἐμπιμπρᾶσι.

(17) The partisans of Vitellius.

(18) The night of the 18th–19th of December, 69. Tac. *H.* 3.69; Dio 64 (65) 17; Jos. *B. J.* 4.11.4.

(19) In all religious organizations the supervision of the *sacellum* was entrusted to one of their own number.[1] Consequently in the case of the aristocratic *sodalitates* the *aedituus*

(19) [1] Marq. *St. V.*[2] 3. 208.

AC MANE ISIACI(20) CELATUS HABITU(21) INTERQUE SACRI-

did not perform the menial work of caring for the shrine, but entrusted it to a slave, in which event a sacellum might have two *aeditui*[2]—the *aedituus magister*[3] and the *aedituus minister*[4] or *a sacrario*.[5] It was the duty of the *aedituus minister* to open, close[6] and clean the temple, show strangers its objects of interest,[7] permit the proper persons to enter for worship, and prevent others from so doing.[8] The *magister aedituus* had charge of the votive offerings, and also of money and documents[9] which appear to have been deposited in the temple by both corporations and individuals.[10]

(20) Soon after the second Punic War the cult of Isis became very prevalent at Rome, and although forbidden by the Senate,[1] may perhaps even then have had a shrine on the Capitol.[2] In 43 B. C. the triumvirs built the first public temple to Isis,[3] which year may be regarded as that of the recognition of the cult at Rome.[4] Many of the emperors were devoted adherents of the goddess—Otho,[5] Domitian, who built an *Iseum* and a *Serapeum*,[6] Commodus,[7] Caracalla,[8] Alexander Severus.[9] For the public at large the great attraction of the worship of Isis seems to have been the religious satisfaction of a spiritual life, attained through the renunciation of the more sensual enjoyments. The strange costume of the priests,[10] their shaven heads,[11] the carrying in procession of the dog-headed Anubis,[12] the sistrum,[13] and the besprinkling with Nile water,[14] all had their symbolic meanings.[15] But on the other hand many blasé and enervated indi-

(19) [2] *CIL*. 6.2204, 2205, 2206, 2207.
[3] *CIL*. 6.2212.
[4] *CIL*. 6.2213.
[5] Orelli-Henzen 6105, 6106, 6107.
[6] Plaut. *Curc*. 203; Liv. 30.17.6.
[7] Plin. *N. H.* 32.17, 36.32; Hor. *Epist*. 2.1.230.
[8] Sen. *Epist*. 41.1.
[9] *Dig*. 43.5.3.3.
[10] Cic. *Leg*. 2.16.41; *Dig*. 3.3.73, 4.4.72, 40.7.4, 16.3.1.

(20) [1] Val. Max. 1.3.3
[2] Cf. *CIL*. 1.1034, 6.2248.
[3] Dio 47.15.
[4] Lucan 8. 831.
[5] *Otho* 12.1.
[6] Eutr. 7.24.
[7] Lampr. *Comm*. 9.
[8] Spart. *Carac*. 9; Aur. Vict. *Caes*. 21.4.
[9] Lampr. *Alex*. 26.
[10] Tibul. 1.3.29; Ov. *A. Am*. 1.77.
[11] Plut. *de Isid. et Osir*. 4.
[12] Appian *B. C.* 4.47; Lampr. *Comm*. 9.4; Spart. *Carac*. 9.11.
[13] Plut. *de Isid. et. Osir*. 63.
[14] Juv. 6.525 ff.
[15] Marq. *St. V.*[2] 3.80.

FICULOS(22) VARIAE(23) SUPERSTITIONIS CUM SE TRANS TIBERIM AD CONDISCIPULI(24) SUI MATREM COMITE UNO CONTULISSET, ITA LATUIT, UT SCRUTANTIBUS QUI VESTIGIA SUBSECUTI ERANT, DEPREHENDI NON POTUERIT.

viduals found in Isis a good opportunity of turning from atheism to childish superstition.

(21) Appian[1] and Valerius Maximus[2] tell how M. Volusius made a similar escape.

(22) Cf. Tacitus (*H.* 3.74): Domitianus prima inruptione apud aedituum occultatus, sollertia liberti lineo amictu turbae sacricolarum inmixtus ignoratusque.

(23) Variae, Ω; vanae, S and the editors. The change from original *variae* to *vanae* is more plausible paleographically than vice versa, for capital N is a strongly formed letter and not likely to have become RI. Moreover *varius* has among others the following values in Suetonius:

1. multiplici variaque (many-sided) doctrina, *Gram.* 10.
2. eruditione varia, *Aug.* 89; variae eruditionis, *Gram.* 6, in both cases *varius* = manifold, diverse.
3. varii usus (many-sided). *Gram.* 2, *ad fin.*

If learning and erudition may be many-sided (observe the parallel in *multiplex* in No. 1), it is not assuming too much to claim that a superstition may likewise have its diverse aspects, particularly when it is an oriental belief to which reference is made. *Variae* is quite consistent with the context. Domitian made his way across the Tiber in the midst of a throng of sacrificial attendants connected with a *varia superstitio*, which, by reason of its very diversity, demanded in its ritual the presence of a great number of priests, sub-priests and acolytes (Alexander 21). Cf. note 20, and references there given.

(24) Cf. Tacitus: apud Cornelium Primum paternum clientem iuxta Velabrum delituit.[1] See also Dio 65.17 *ad fin.* (quoted above). The word *condiscipuli* is perhaps significant as showing that Domitian's youth was not wholly neglected.[2]

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(21) [1] Appian *B. C.* 4.47.
[2] Val. Max. 7.3.8.

(24) [1] Tac. *H.* 3.74.
[2] Rolfe on *Dom.* 1.2.

POST VICTORIAM DEMUM PROGRESSUS ET CAESAR CONSALUTATUS(25) HONOREM PRAETURAE URBANAE CONSULARI POTESTATE(26) SUSCEPIT TITULO TENUS, NAM(27)

Tac. *H.* 3.86. Domitianum, postquam nihil hostile metuebatur, ad duces partium progressum et Caesarem consalutatum miles frequens utque erat in armis in paternos penates deduxit.

Tac. *H.* 4.2. Nomen sedemque Caesaris Domitianus acceperat.

Tac. *H.* 4.3. Nec senatus obsequium deerat: ipsi consulatus cum Tito filio, praetura Domitiano et consulare imperium decernuntur.

Tac. *H.* 4.39. Et mox eiurante Frontino Caesar Domitianus praeturam cepit. Eius nomen epistulis edictisque praeponebatur, vis penes Mucianum erat, nisi quod pleraque Domitianus instigantibus amicis aut propria libidine audebat.

Dio 66.1. ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἔσχεν, αὐτοκράτωρ δ'ἐπ'αὐτοῖς ὁ Οὐεσπασιανὸς καὶ πρὸς τῆς βουλῆς ἀπεδείχθη, καὶ Καίσαρες ὅ τε Τίτος καὶ ὁ Δομιτιανὸς ἐπεκλήθησαν.

Dio 65.22. πεπραγμένων δὲ τούτων ἤδη ὡς ἑκάστων, ὁ Μουκιανὸς ἐπῆλθε, καὶ τά τε ἄλλα συνδιώκει τῷ Δομιτιανῷ, καὶ ἐς τοὺς στρατιώτας αὐτὸν παραγαγὼν δημηγορῆσαι ἐποίησε, καιπερ καὶ παιδίσκον ὄντα. καὶ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι δραχμὰς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἕκαστος ἔλαβεν.

Joseph, *B. J.* 4. 11. 4. (654)———τῇ δ'ὑστεραίᾳ Μουκιανὸς εἴσεισι μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς, καὶ τοὺς σὺν 'Αντωνίῳ παύσας τοῦ κτείνειν——— καὶ προαγαγὼν τὸν Δομετιανόν συνίστησι τῷ πλήθει μέχρι τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀφίξεως ἡγεμόνα.

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(25) It is probable that the legions of the East when they proclaimed Vespasian Emperor on July 1, 69,[1] recognized his two sons as *Caesares* at the same time. At any rate, there are coins of Vespasian previous to Dec. 21, 69, which have on the reverse: Titus et Domitianus Caesares, prin(cipes) iuven(tutis).[2]

(26) There are coins of the year 70 on which Domitian is designated as praetor.[1]

(27) Quam Ω; quia ς; quoniam Oud.; nam J. Gronov.

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(25) [1] *Vesp.* 6.3.
[2] Eckhel 6, pp. 320 and 367; Cohen, Vespasien, 539–542, 545, cf. 52.

(26) [1] Cohen, Vespasien, Tite et Domitien, 4, 12, 14.

IURIS DICTIONEM AD COLLEGAM PROXIMUM[(28)] TRANSTULIT, CETERUM OMNEM VIM DOMINATIONIS TAM LICENTER EXERCUIT, UT IAM TUM QUALIS FUTURUS ESSET, OSTENDERET.

Tac. *H.* 4.2. nondum ad curas intentus, sed stupris et adulteriis filium principis agebat.

Dio 66.3 *ad fin.* καὶ τῷ ἔρωτι τῆς Δομιτίας τῆς Κορβούλωνος θυγατρὸς προσέχων ἐτύγχανε. ταύτην γὰρ Λουκίου Λαμίου Αἰμιλιανοῦ τοῦ ταύτης ἀνδρὸς ἀποσπάσας, τότε μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἐρωμέναις ἐποιήσατο, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ ἔγημεν.

Dio 66.2. πολλοῖς γοῦν ἀρχάς τε καὶ ἐπιτροπείας αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ Δομιτιανὸς ἔδωκαν, καὶ ἐπάρχους ἄλλους ἐπ' ἄλλοις καὶ ὑπάτους ἀπέδειξαν. τό τε σύμπαν, οὕτως πάντα αὐτοὶ ὡς αὐταρχοῦντες ἐποίουν, ὥστε τὸν Οὐεσπασιανὸν ἐπιστεῖλαί ποτε τῷ Δομιτιανῷ ὅτι, "χάριν ἔχω σοι, τέκνον, ὅτι με ἐᾷς ἄρχειν καὶ οὐδέπω με καταλέλυκας." This same quotation occurs also in Zonar. 11.17.

Tac. *Agr.* 7. iuvene admodum Domitiano et ex paterna ortuna tantum licentiam usurpante.

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(28) C. Licinius Mucianus was distinguished for luxurious indulgence and energetic work, for affability and haughtiness; when he had nothing to attend to, he reveled in excessive pleasures; but when business required his attention, he displayed great abilities. In 67 he was governor of Syria with four legions, while Vespasian ruled Judaea.[1] For some time they regarded each other as rivals, but on Nero's death were reconciled by Titus.[2] When Otho died, Mucianus at first swore allegiance to Vitellius,[3] but soon urged Vespasian[4] to seize the imperial power. Mucianus then set out for Italy against the Vitellians.[5] Antonius Primus, also a partisan of Vespasian, had entered Rome before Mucianus; but on the arrival of the latter he had

(28) [1] Tac. *H.* 1.10.
[2] Tac. *H.* 2.5, cf. 2.74; Joseph. *B. J.* 4.1.5.32.
[3] Tac. *H.* 2.73.
[4] Tac. *H.* 2.76 ff.; Joseph. *B. J.* 4.10.5.605; *Vesp.* 6.4; Dio 65.8.
[5] Tac. *H.* 2.82; Dio 65.9.

NE EXEQUAR SINGULA, CONTRACTATIS MULTORUM UXORIBUS DOMITIAM LONGINAM AELIO LAMIAE(29) NUPTAM ETIAM IN MATRIMONIUM ABDUXIT, ATQUE UNO DIE SUPER XX OFFICIA URBANA AUT PEREGRINA DISTRIBUIT, MIRARI SE VESPASIANO DICTITANTE, QUOD SUCCESSOREM NON ET SIBI MITTERET.

to surrender all power into his hands.[6] Mucianus was dead when Pliny wrote his Natural History.[7]

(29) See on *Dom.* 10.2.

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(28) [6] Tac. *H.* 4.11, cf. 4.39, 4.44, 4.46; *Agr.* 7; Dio 65.22, 66.2.
[7] Plin. *N. H.* 32.62.

II. EXPEDITIONEM QUOQUE IN GALLIAM GERMANIASQUE NEQUE NECESSARIAM(1) ET DISSUADENTIBUS PATERNIS AMICIS INCOHAVIT, TANTUM UT FRATRI SE ET OPIBUS(2) ET DIGNATIONE ADAEQUARET.

Tac. *H.* 4.68. Simul Domitianus Mucianusque accingebantur, dispari animo, ille spe ac iuventa properus, hic moras nectens quis flagrantem retineret, ne ferocia aetatis et pravis impulsoribus, si exercitum invasisset, paci belloque male consuleret.

Tac. *H.* 4.85. At Domitianus Mucianusque antequam Alpibus propinquarent, prosperas rerum in Treviris gestarum nuntiot accepere. . . . Sed Mucianus quod diu occultaverat, us recens exprompsit: quoniam benignitate deum fractae hostium vires forent, parum decore Domitianum confecto prope bello alienae gloriae interventurum . . . . Ipse Luguduni vim fortunamque principatus e proximo ostentaret, nec parvis periculis inmixtus et maioribus non defuturus.

Tac. *H.* 4.86. Intellegebantur artes sed pars obsequii in eo, ne deprehenderentur: ita Lugdunum ventum. . . . Domitianus sperni a senioribus iuventam suam cernens modica quoque et usurpata antea munia imperii omittebat, simplicitatis ac modestiae imagine in altitudinem conditus studiumque litterarum et amorem carminum simulans, quo velaret animum et fratris se aemulationi subduceret, cuius disparem mitioremque naturam contra interpretabatur.

Dio 66.3. ὁ δὲ Δομιτιανός, ἐξ ὧν ἔδρασε καὶ πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐξ ὧν ἐπεχείρησειν (οὐδὲν γὰρ μικρὸν ἐπενόει) φοβηθεὶς τὸν πατέρα.

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(1) M. reads: expeditionem quod: ne in Gallia Germaniasque neq : cessariam et dissuadentibus paternis amicis incohauit. *Ne* is separated from *cessariam* and *in Gallia Germaniasque neq* could have formed one line. The same MS. in *Tib.* 47 reads: *coactus manumittere aucorum senatorum inoppia sustentata;* in which case the *p* of *paucorum* seems to have transferred itself to *inopia* (M. Ihm, *Hermes* 36.293).

(2) $\pi^2\varsigma$ (vulg.) read *operibus*, but *opibus* is preferable. Cf. Tac. *H.* 4.86, opes viresque adversus fratrem.

OB HAEC CORREPTUS, QUO MAGIS ET AETATIS ET CONDICIONIS ADMONERETUR, HABITABAT CUM PATRE UNA SELLAMQUE EIUS AC FRATRIS, QUOTIENS PRODIRENT, LECTICA(3) SEQUEBATUR AC TRIUMPHUM UTRIUSQUE IUDAICUM EQUO ALBO(4) COMITATUS EST.(5) QUI(n et e)(6) SEX CONSULATIBUS(7) NON NISI UNUM ORDINARIUM(8) GESSIT EUMQUE CEDENTE ET SUFFRAGANTE FRATRE.

Zonar. 11.17c. τῶν δ' Ἱεροσολύμων ἁλόντων ὁ Τίτος εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν. ἐπανελθὼν τὰ ἐπινίκια αὐτός τε καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἐφ' ἅρματος 'ἔπεμψαν. συνέπεμπε δὲ σφίσιν αὐτὰ καὶ ὁ Δομιτιανὸς ὑπατεύων ἐπὶ κέλητος.

Joseph *B. J.* 7.5.152. μεθ' ἃ Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἤλαυνε πρῶτος, καὶ Τίτος εἵπετο, Δομετιανὸς δὲ παρίππευεν, αὐτός τε διαπρεπῶς κεκοσμημένος καὶ τὸν ἵππον παρέχων θέας ἄξιον.

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(3) Cf. Dio 60.2. καὶ μέντοι καὶ δίφρῳ (sella) καταστέγῳ πρῶτος (Claudius) Ῥωμαίων ἐχρήσατο, καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ νῦν οὐχ ὅτι οἱ αὐτοκράτορες, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ ὑπατευκότες διφροφορούμεθα. πρότερον δὲ ἄρα ὅ, τε Αὔγουστος καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος, ἄλλοι τέ τινες ἐν σκιμποδίοις, ὁποιόις αἱ γυναῖκες ἔτι καὶ νῦν νομίζουσιν, ἔστιν ὅτε ἐφέροντο.

(4) Although white horses were regarded as especially swift,[1] the choice of an *equus albus* in this instance was probably due to spectacular reasons only or perhaps to the royal significance of white.[2]

(5) As was the custom for a young prince.[1]

(6) *Quis ex*, MR; *qui sex*, GLPS; *in sex*, Π Q SOT (vulg.); *quin ex, Bentley; quin et e sex, Ihm.* Suetonian usage requires *e* (*x*)[1] and an intensifying connection to the preceding sentence such as would be given by *quin*. However Suetonius in such instances does not use *quin* alone, but *quin et* or *quin etiam*.[2]

(7) Domitian was consul six times under Vespasian. (71, 73, 75, 76, 77, 79).[1] He was probably designated *consul suffectus* for the year 80, before his father's death (June 23, 79); and was *consul ordinarius*[2] with Titus in 80. His first consulship was

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(4) [1] Hor. *Sat.* 1.7.8; Plaut. *Asin.* 279; Virg. *Aen.* 12.84.
[2] See note on *albatos*—ministras, *Dom.* 12.3.

(5) [1] *Tib.* 6.4.

(6) [1] *Cal.* 17; *Cl.* 14; but *Tit.* 6. in septem consulatibus patri collega fuit.
[2] quin et: *Jul.* 14; *Aug.* 96; *Tib.* 10, 52; *Cal.* 5, 33, 37; *Cl.* 6, 21; *Nero* 34; *Otho* 12; *Vesp.* 12; *Tit.* 8; quin etiam: *Jul.* 79; *Aug.* 19; *Tib.* 30; *Nero* 32, 57; *Galba* 15.

(7) [1] Gsell 17–24; Pauly 6.[2] 2547 ff.
[2] *Fast. Cons.* ed. Liebenam p. 16.

SIMULAUIT ET IPSE MIRE MODESTIAM(9) IN PRIMISQUE POETICAE STUDIUM, NAM INSUETUM ANTEA SIBI QUAM POSTEA SPRETUM ET ABIECTUM, RECITAVITQUE ETIAM PUBLICE.(10) NEC TAMEN EO SETIUS, CUM VOLOGAESUS(11) PARTHORUM REX AUXILIA ADVERSUS ALANOS DUCEMQUE ALTERUM EX VESPASIANI LIBERIS DEPOPOS-

conferred upon him as soon as he was legally eligible. In the Iulio-Claudian dynasty the successors to the throne did not receive the consulship under the age of twenty, while at that age the other members of the imperial family could not obtain an office higher than the quaestorship.[3] Therefore in this respect Domitian was treated as a real heir to the throne. The six consulships here mentioned by Suetonius must be referred to the six which Domitian held under Vespasian, and not as most editors say, to the six which he held before ascending the throne, for he had had seven consulships when he became emperor. In Pauly Wissowa (6^2.2547) we find: "vor seiner Thronbesteigung bekleidete er sechs Consulate," but when taking up the matter in detail seven are given, and later (6^2.2550), appears the statement: "Domitian war als princeps Consul VIII–XVIII," which would of course place coss I–VII before he became *princeps*. Cf. *Dom.* 13.2.

(8) In 73 (*Fast. Cons.* ed. Liebenam, p. 15.)

(9) According to Tacitus this was only a mask to get around his brother whose dissimilar nature he was quite incapable of comprehending (Tac. *H.* 4.86).

(10) If Domitian's youthful education was as neglected as most authorities would lead us to suppose, this sudden application to learning may have been a sincere effort at self-improvement. Cf. note on *condiscipuli, Dom.* 2.1, and *Dom.* 20.

(11) The same who promised Vespasian 4000 archers (*Vesp.* 6.4). The form *Vologaeses* occurs in Tac. *A.* 15.7, elsewhere in the Annals *Vologeses*, twice *Vologesus*, which form occurs also in *H.* 4.51; *Vologaesus* in *H.* 1.40. Nipperdey reads the name as *Vologaeses*, on the analogy of *Abdägaeses* (Tac. *A.* 6.37) and *Monaeses*.

(7) [3] Momm. *St. R.*[3] 1.576.

CISSET,(12) OMNI OPE CONTENDIT UT IPSE POTISSIMUM MITTERETUR; ET QUIA DISCUSSA RES EST, ALIOS ORIENTIS REGES UT IDEM POSTULARENT DONIS AC POLLICITATIONIBUS SOLLICITARE TEMPTAVIT.

PATRE DEFUNCTO DIU CUNCTATUS AN DUPLUM DONATIVUM(13) MILITI OFFERRET, NUMQUAM IACTARE DUBITAVIT

Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.91. Hos nominavimus, quia Germanicum Augustum ab institutis studiis deflexit cura terrarum, parumque dis visum est esse eum maximum poetarum. Quid tamen his ipsis eius operibus, in quae donato imperio iuvenis secesserat, sublimius, doctius, omnibus denique numeris praestantius? Quis enim caneret bella melius quam qui sic gerit? Quem praesidentes studiis deae promptius audirent? Cui magis suas artes aperiret familiare numen Minervae? Dicent haec plenius futura saecula. Nunc enim ceterarum fulgore virtutum laus ista praestringitur. Nos tamen sacra literarum colentis feres, Caesar, si non tacitum hoc praeterimus et Vergiliano certe versu testamur: "Inter victrices hederam tibi serpere laurus."

Val. Fl. 1.12. Versam proles tua pandet Idumen,
Namque potest, Solymo nigrantem pulvere fratrem,
Spargentemque faces et in omni turre furentem.

Dio 66.15. (Vespasian). τοῖς δὲ Πάρθοις πολεμωθεῖσι πρός τινας καὶ τῆς παρ' αὐτοῦ συμμαχίας δεηθεῖσιν οὐκ ἐβοήθησεν, εἰπὼν ὅτι οὐ προσήκει αὐτῷ τὰ ἀλλότρια πολυπραγμονεῖν.

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(12) In the same year 75 at the earliest, since Dio (66.15) relates this event after the consecration of the Temple of Peace.

(13) The *donativum* was a present in money to the soldiers, and not to be confused with a *congiarium* (see note on the *congiarium, Dom.* 4.5). In the time of the republic it was paid from the booty, but in the civil wars the loyalty of the soldiers had to be purchased by large donatives and this practice continued all through the empire. Tiberius and Caligula began their reigns with donatives paid from their inheritance from their predecessors. Smaller largesses were given by some emperors annually, by others every five or ten years (Marqd. *St. V.* 2^2.140).

RELICTUM SE PARTICIPEM IMPERII,[14] **SED FRAUDEM TESTAMENTO ADHIBITAM ESSE;**[15] **NEQUE CESSAVIT EX EO INSIDIAS STRUERE FRATRI CLAM PALAM(QUE).**
QUOAD CORREPTUM GRAVI VALITUDINE,[16] **PRIUS QUAM**

Tit. 9.3. Fratrem insidiari sibi non desinentem, sed paeno ex professo sollicitantem exercitus, meditantem fugam, neque occidere neque reponere ac ne in minore quidem honore habere sustinuit, sed, ut a primo imperii die, consortem successoremque testari perseveravit, nonnumquam secreto precibus et lacrimise orans, ut tandem mutuo erga se animo vellet esse.

Ps. Aur. Vict. *Epit.* 10.11. Fratrem quoque Domitianum parantem insidias militumque animos sollicitantem, flens saepius obtestatus est, ne parricidio assequi cuperet, quod et se volente esset obventurum ei, et iam haberet, cum sit particeps potestatis.

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(14) In his will Vespasian could no more appoint an associate in the imperial power than his own successor. This double right belonged to the senate, but he could recommend Domitian to the senate which conferred the titles constituting the secondary imperial power, and to the future emperor at whose suggestion these titles were conferred. It is highly improbable that Vespasian left Domitian half of his personal property, as such property could be inherited only by an emperor. Vespasian did not wish Domitian to be emperor with Titus, but merely that his second son should be *particeps imperii*, associated in the empire under the reign of his elder son (Gsell 27 n. 2). But Titus did not grant Domitian the proconsular imperium, the tribunician power or the title *imperator*. In this he probably disregarded the wishes of Vespasian, who, intending Domitian to succeed his elder brother, had raised him above all private individuals. In this sense perhaps Domitian was right in saying that he had been designated by his father as *particeps imperii*, but that the will had been tampered with (Gsell 27).

(15) Titus had the ability to do this (*Tit.* 3.2); cf. Rolfe in T. A. P. A. 45, p. 42 ff.

(16) When hot applications failed to cure Augustus of a liver complaint, his physician Antonius Musa successfully employed cold ones (*Aug.* 81.1). So Domitian may have been sincerely trying to help Titus by advising the treatment related by Dio (66.26). Suetonius says he died of fever (*Tit.* 10.1).

PLANE EFFLARET ANIMAM, PRO MORTUO DESERI IUSSIT; DEFUNCTUMQUE NULLO PRAETERQUAM CONSECRATIONIS[(17)] HONORE DIGNATUS, SAEPE ETIAM CARPSIT OBLIQUIS ORATIONIBUS ET EDICTIS.

Dio 66.26. ὡς μὲν ἡ φήμη λέγει, πρὸς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἀναλωθείς, ὅτι καὶ πρότερον ἐπεβεβούλευτο ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ὡς δέ τινες γράφουσι, νοσήσας. ἔμπνουν γάρ τοι αὐτὸν ὄντα καὶ τάχα περιγενέσθαι δυνάμενον, ἐς λάρνακα χίονος πολλῆς γέμουσαν ὁ Δομιτιανὸς ἐνέβαλεν, ὡς δεομένης τῆς νόσου τάχα τινὸς περιψύξεως, ἵνα θᾶσσον ἀποθάνῃ. ἔτι γοῦν ζῶντος αὐτοῦ ἔς τε τὴν 'Ρώμην ἀφίππευσε καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον εἰσῆλθε, τήν τε ἐπίκλησιν καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἔλαβε, δοὺς αὐτοῖς ὅσον περ καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ἐδεδώκει.

Philos. *Apol.* 6.32. δυοῖν δὲ ἐτοῖν μετὰ τὸν πατέρα τὴν ἀρχὴν κατασχόντα ὑπὸ τοῦ θαλαττίου λαγὼ ἀποθανεῖν, τὸν δὲ ἰχθὺν τοῦτο παρέχεσθαι χυμοὺς ἀπορρήτους ὑπὲρ πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ καί γῇ 'ανδροφόνα, καὶ Νέρωνα μὲν ἐσποιῆσαι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ὄψοις τὸν λαγὼν τοῦτον ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμιωτάτους, Δομετιανὸν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Τίτον, οὐ τὸ ξὺν ἀδελφῷ ἄρχειν δεινὸν ἡγούμενον, ἀλλὰ τὸ ξὺν πράῳ τε καί χρηστῷ.

Dio 67.2. Τοιοῦτος δὲ δὴ πρὸς πάντας παρ' ὅλην τὴν ἡγεμονίαν γενόμενος, πολὺ καὶ ἑαυτὸν ὑπερεβάλετο ἐν τῇ τῶν τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ τε ἀδελφοῦ φίλων ἀτίμῳ τε καὶ ὀλεθρίῳ μεταχειρίσει.————πᾶν γὰρ τὸ ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολλοὺς 'αγαπηθέν τε ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ δυνηθὲν ἐν ἐχθροῦ μοίρᾳ ἐτίθετο.————ὁ αὐτὸς δ' οὐκ ἐφρόντιζεν οὐδὲ τῶν τὸν Τίτον ἐπαινούντων, ὅτι μηδένα βουλευτὴν ἀπέκτεινεν, οὔθ' ὅτι ἡ γερουσία πολλάκις ἠξίου ψηφισθῆναι μὴ ἐξεῖναι τῷ αὐτοκράτορι τῶν ὁμοτίμων τινὰ ἀπολέσαι.—ἐπῄνουν δὲ τὸν Τίτον τινὲς οὐχ ὅτι καί ἀκούοντος τοῦ Δομιτιανοῦ. (ἴσον γὰρ ἂν ἡμάρτανον, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον παρόντα καὶ ἀκούοντα ἐλοιδόρουν).————αὐτός τε γὰρ καὶ φιλεῖν τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ πενθεῖν προσεποιεῖτο, καὶ τούς τε ἐπαίνους τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτῷ μετὰ δακρύων ἔλεξε καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἥρωας αὐτὸν σπουδῇ ἐσέγραψε, πάντα τὰ ἐναντιώτατα, ὧν ἠβούλετο, σχηπτόμενος, (ἀμέλει καὶ τὴν ἱπποδρομίαν τὴν τῶν γενεσίων αὐτοῦ κατέλυσε.) καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οὔθ' ὅπως συνάχθοιντο, οὔθ' ὅπως συνήδοιντο, ἀσφαλῶς εἶχον, τὸ μέν, ὅτι τὴν γνώμην αὐτοῦ λυπεῖν, τὸ δὲ ὅτι τὴν προσποίησιν ἐλέγχειν ἔμελλον.

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(17) Eusebius says, "Senatu decretum publicum dante Titus deus est appellatus" (Euseb. *a. Abr.* 2097, Oct. 1, 80–Sept. 30, 81), but *divus* does not occur in the acts of the Arval brothers for Oct. 1, 81 (*CIL.* 6.2060). The erection of the famous arch of Titus in the Velia was probably decreed at the same time as his deification (Pauly 6².2552). Cf. Plin. *Paneg.* 11: dicavit caelo . . . Vespasianum Titus, Domitianus Titum, sed ille ut dei filius, hic ut frater videretur.

III. INTER INITIA PRINCIPATUS COTIDIE SECRETUM SIBI HORARUM(1) SPATIUM SUMERE SOLEBAT NEC QUICQUAM AMPLIUS QUAM MUSCAS CAPTARE AC STILO PRAEACUTO CONFIGERE, UT CUIDAM INTERROGANTI, ESSETNE QUIS INTUS CUM CAESARE, NON ABSURDE RESPONSUM SIT A VIBIO CRISPO,(2) NE MUSCAM QUIDEM.

Dio 66.9. ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ συνειδότος ὧν τε ἐφρόνει καὶ ὧν ἐπεποιήκει, οὔτε ἐθάρσει, καὶ προσέτι καὶ μωρίαν ἔστιν ὅτε προσεποιεῖτο. ἐν γοῦν τῷ Ἀλβανῷ χωρίῳ τὰ πλεῖστα διάγων ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καὶ γελοῖα ἔπραττε, καὶ τὰς μυίας γραφείοις κατεκέντει. τοῦτο γὰρ εἰ καὶ ἀνάξιον τοῦ τῆς ἱστορίας ὄγκου ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ὅτι γε ἱκανῶς τὸν τρόπον αὐτοῦ ἐνδείκνυται, ἀναγκαίως ἔγραψα. καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι καὶ μοναρχήσας ὁμοίως αὐτὸ ἐποίει. ὅθεν οὐκ ἀχαρίτως τις εἶπε πρὸς τὸν ἐρωτήσαντα, "τί πράττει Δομιτιανός;" ὅτι "ἰδιάζει τε, καὶ οὐδὲ μυῖα αὐτῷ παρακάθηται".

Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 11.5. dehinc atrox caedibus bonorum segnisque ridicule remotis procul omnibus muscarum agmina persequebatur. 11.6 hincque iocorum pleraque: nam percontanti cuidam, quispiamne in palatio esset, responsum: ne musca quidem, nisi forte apud palaestram. *Cf.* Ps. Aur. Vict. *Epit.* 11.6.

(1) tempus horarum ς, horarum spatium Saresber, horarium *vulg.* (ed. Rom. II, Ven. I), lararium *Is. Vossius;* Casaubon thought a number was lost (cf. *Nero* 37.2). Although the mss. read ***horarum***, it is more than likely that the original reading was ***horarum spatium solebat***, etc. ***Spatium*** could easily have been lost by haplography; moreover ***horarum spatium*** actually occurs in *Nero* 37.

(2) Q. Vibius Crispus was born of humble parents at Vercellae[1] in the year 13, since he had passed his 80th birthday[2] and was dead when Quintilian[3] wrote his *Institutiones* (*circa* 93). He attained great success as a public speaker and as a lawyer, and acted as an informer under Nero.[4] Having been forced by illness to absent himself for a few days from Vitellius's convivial board, he said when he returned, "If I had not fallen

(2) [1] Tac. *Dial.* 8.
[2] Juv. 4.92.
[3] *Inst.* 10.1.119.
[4] Tac. *Dial.* 8; *H.* 2.10.

DEINDE UXOREM DOMITIAM, EX QUA IN SECUNDO SUO CONSULATU FILIUM TULERAT ALTEROQUE ANNO QUAM IMPERIUM ADEPTUS EST AMISIT,(3) CONSALUTAVIT AUGUSTAM; EANDEM(4) PARIDIS (5)HISTRIONIS AMORE DEPERDITAM REPUDIAVIT INTRAQUE BREVE TEMPUS INPATIENS DISCIDII QUASI EFFLAGITANTE POPULO REDUXIT.

ill, I should certainly have died."[5] He was an intimate friend of both Vespasian[6] and Domitian.[7] Concerning his wealth, see Tac. *Dial.* 8, cf. Tac. *H.* 2.10; his liberality, Mart. 12.36.9.

Hier. *a. Abr.* 2097. (Oct. 1, 80–Sept. 30, 81). ***Domitiani uxor Augusta appellatur.***

Dio 67. 3. τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα τὴν Δομιτίαν ἐβουλεύσατο μὲν σφάζαι ἐπὶ μοιχείᾳ !παρακληθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Οὔρσου ἀπέπεμψατο, τὸν Πάριν τὸν ὀρχηστὴν ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ὁδῷ δι' αὐτὴν φονεύσας. ἐπειδὴ δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ ἄνθεσι καὶ μύροις τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον ἐτίμων, ἐκέλευσε τούτους σφάττεσθαι.————εἶτα δεηθέντος τοῦ δήμου κατηλλάγη μὲν τῇ Δομιτίᾳ. Cf. Zon. 11.19. A.

Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 11.7. uxore . . . quae amorem histrionis viro praetulerat.

Ps. Aur. Vict. *Epit.* 11.11. uxore Domitia, ob amorem Paridis histrionis a principe cruciatus formidante.

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(3) The Memmianus is the only MS. whose reading is important for the above passage: deinde uxorem Domitiam ex qua in secundo suo consulatu filium tulerat alteroque anno consulatu filium . . . vit (three letters erased) Augustam. Domitian was consul for the second time in 73; Domitia received the title *Augusta* in 81 (Gsell 45). Judging from coins (Gsell 53) the prince whose birth occurred in 73 died before the end of 83. If the emendation adopted in the text for this lacuna is correct, the son died in 82. Suetonius may have written: Domitiam, ex qua in secundo suo consulatu filium tulerat alteroque anno (principatus (or quam imperium adeptus est)) amisit. A similar expression occurs concerning Nero's daughter (*Nero* 35.3): *ex hac filiam tulit Claudiam Augustam amisitque admodum infantem.* Cf. Ihm, *Herm.* 36, p. 292.

(4) Domitia was also said to have had improper relations with Titus (*Tit.* 10.2).

(5) Paris was one of the most famous pantomimists (cf. Juv.

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(2) [5] Dio 65.2.
[6] Tac. *Dial.* 8.
[7] Juv. 4.81.

CIRCA ADMINISTRATIONEM AUTEM IMPERII ALIQUAMDIU SE VARIUM PRAESTITIT, MIXTURA PROPE(6) AEQUABILI VITIORUM ATQUE VIRTUTUM, DONEC VIRTUTES QUOQUE IN VITIA(7) DEFLEXIT: QUANTUM CONIECTARE LICET, SUPER INGENII NATURAM INOPIA RAPAX, METU SAEVUS.

6.87) of the period. This intrigue cost Paris his life (Schol. Juv. 6.87; Dio 67.3); but Martial included an epitaph upon the actor in his eleventh book (Mart. 11.13), which was published after Domitian's death. Statius composed for him a piece entitled *Agave* (Juv. 7.87).

Eutr. 7.23 (15). Domitianus mox accepit imperium, frater ipsius iunior; Neroni, aut Caligulae, aut Tiberio similior, quam patri, vel fratri suo. Primis tamen annis moderatus in imperio fuit, mox ad ingentia vitia progressus, libidinis, iracundiae, crudelitatis, avaritiae, tantum in se odii concitavit, ut merita et patris et fratris aboleret. Cf. *Dom.* 9.1.

Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 11.3. Sed Domitianus primo clementiam simulans, neque adeo iners domi, belloque tolerantior videbatur.

Ps. Aur. Vict. *Epit.* 11.2. Iste primo clementiam simulans, neque adeo iners, domi bellique tolerantior videbatur.

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(6) Bentley's emendation for *quoque* of the MSS.

(7) The *vitia* here mentioned were *cupiditas* and *saevitia*, according to *Vesp.* 1.1, and *cupiditas* and *avaritia*, according to *Dom.* 9.1.

IV. SPECTACULA(1) ASSIDUE MAGNIFICA ET SUMPTUOSA EDIDIT NON IN AMPHITHEATRO(2) MODO, VERUM ET IN CIRCO, UBI PRAETER SOLLEMNES(3) BIGARUM QUADRIGARUMQUE CURSUS PROELIUM ETIAM DUPLEX, EQUESTRE AC PEDESTRE, COMMISIT; AT IN AMPHITHEATRO NAVALE QUOQUE.

NAM VENATIONES(4) GLADIATORESQUE ET NOCTIBUS AD LYCHNUCHOS,(5) NEC VIRORUM MODO PUGNAS, SED ET FEMINARUM.(6)

(1) In this regard he was following the example of his father and brother (Dio 66.10, 15, 25; *Tit.* 7.3).

(2) The Flavian amphitheatre dedicated in 80 by Titus. The *Epigrammaton liber* of Martial refers to the games given by the emperor on this occasion (Friedl. ed. of Martial I, pp. 134 ff.).

(3) 'Usual,' cf. *Aug.* 44.2: quos promiscue spectari sollemne olim erat. For uses of *sollemnis* in other senses, cf. *Cl.* 14; *Nero* 34.2; *Vit.* 11.2.

Dio 67.8. ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ θέαν πολυτελῆ, ἐν ῇ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἐς ἱστορίαν ἐπίσημον παρελάβομεν, πλὴν ὅτι καὶ Παρθένοι τῷ δρομικῷ ἠγωνίσαντο. μετά δὲ ταῦτα ἑορτάς τινας νικητηρίους δῆθεν ἐπιτελῶν ἀγῶνας συχνοὺς ἐποίησε. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἱπποδρόμῳ μάχας καὶ πεζῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἱππέων αὖ συνέβαλε———. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας νύκτωρ ἐποίει, καὶ ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ νέννας καὶ γυναῖκας συνέβαλλε.

Stat. *Silv.* 1.6.85.

Vixdum caerula nox subibat orbem,
descendit media nitens harena
densas flammeus orbis inter umbras
vincens Gnosiacae facem coronae!

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(4) Cf. Mart. 5.65, 8.26, 8.53.

(5) lihnucas (lihin Π′ Q) MΥδ; linuchos G; lichnucos *fere vel et* Π² (*corruptius* L T). Lychnuchos is the correct spelling, as the word is evidently derived from λυχνοῦχος. Cf. also Orelli 2511, *Lychnucum*. On illuminations of this sort cf. *Cal.* 18, and on use of *lychnuchi* in elephantine torch-light procession, *Jul.* 37.

PRAETEREA QUAESTORIIS MUNERIBUS,(7) QUAE OLIM OMISSA REVOCAVERAT, ITA SEMPER INTERFUIT, UT POPULO POTESTATEM FACERET BINA PARIA E SUO LUDO(8) POSTULANDI EAQUE NOVISSIMA AULICO APPARATU INDUCERET.

(6) Stat. *Silv.* 1.6.51.

> Hos inter fremitus novosque luxus
> spectandi levis effugit voluptas:
> stat sexus rudis insciusque ferri;
> ut pugnas capit improbus viriles!

Under Nero, women of equestrian and senatorial rank[1] appeared in the arena, but under Titus women of low position[2] only. Juvenal[3] and Martial[4] also refer to the practice.

(7) The quaestors, as a body, were charged probably at an early date under the empire, with the expense of paving roads, but in A. D. 47 the duty of giving the *munera gladiatoria* was substituted therefor.[1] This arrangement lasted until A. D. 54.[2] From then until the time of Domitian it was only occasionally and voluntarily that the quaestors gave such shows. Under Alexander Severus[3] only the *quaestores candidati principis* held the games at their own expense, and as a reward they were advanced at once to the praetorship. The rest received a subsidy from the treasury and were called *arcarii*.[4]

(8) The imperial gladiatorial schools had a special administration of their own. Domitian is said to have founded four,[1] situated in the neighborhood of the Colosseum, and bearing the names *Magnus*, *Matutinus*, *Dacicus* and *Gallicus* in the Notitia and Curiosum.[2] The *Ludus Magnus* as well as the less important *Ludus Matutinus* had its own equestrian administrative staff,[3] but of officers of the other two schools which

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(6) [1] Tac. *A.* 15.32; Dio 61,17.
[2] Dio 66.25.
[3] 1.22 ff., 6.246 ff.
[4] *Epigr.* 6b.

(7) [1] *Cl.* 24.2; Tac. *A.* 11.22.
[2] Tac. *A.* 13.5.
[3] Lampr. *Alex.* 43.

(8) [1] Chronogr. a. 354.
[2] Jordan-Hülsen 1^3,298 ff.
[3] *CIL.* 14.2922, 8.8328, 6.1645, 6.1647.

Ac per omne gladiatorum spectaculum ante pedes ei stabat puerulus coccinatus parvo portentosoque capite, cum quo(9) plurimum fabulabatur, nonnumquam serio. Auditus est certe, dum ex eo quaerit, ecquid sciret, cur sibi visum esset ordinatione proxima Aegypto praeficere Mettium Rufum.(10)

Edidit navalis pugnas(11) paene iustarum classium,

were probably only appurtenances of the first two, we know nothing. Private gladiatorial schools in Rome were suppressed or at least restricted by Domitian,[4] but continued in the rest of Italy and in the provinces.[5]

(9) Originally the preposition followed the noun or pronoun, which word order is frequent in Oscan-Umbrian (cf. Planta 2.490). Remnants of this old order are preserved in Latin in such forms as *mecum*, *tecum*, etc. It was not until the classical period that *cum* often preceded the word it governed, as it regularly does in Nepos, Livy, and Horace. From then on monosyllabic prepositions very seldom follow a relative, but polysyllabic ones do so frequently in prose as well as in poetry (Schmalz 415).

(10) *Mettium* (*mertium* L, *metuum* δ) GLP ςδ, *metium* MT, ethium ΠQ, *etium* R, *Maecium* Oud. (Roth), *Metilium* (olim) Dittenberger. Mettius is the correct reading: cf. *Eph. Ep.* 7, p. 427, where he appears to be *praefectus Aegypti* (Μεττίου 'Ρούφου) and *CIL.* 12.671, V. 13, in which (M. ETTII. RVFI. MAG. EQVI.) Hirschfeld thinks Rufus is referred to as *praefectus praetorio.*

Dio 67.8, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἐν καινῷ τινι χωρίῳ ναυμαχίαν ἐπετέλεσε. καὶ ἀπέφανον ἐν αὐτῇ πάντες μὲν ὀλίγου δεῖν οἱ ναυμαχήσαντες, συχνοὶ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν θεωμένων. ὑετοῦ γὰρ πολλοῦ καὶ χειμῶνος σφοδροῦ ἐξαίφνης γενομένου, οὐδενὶ ἐπέτρεψεν ἐκ τῆς θέας ἀπαλλαγῆναι, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς μανδυάς ἀλλασσόμενος, ἐκείνους οὐδὲν εἴασε μεταβαλεῖν. καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἐνόσησαν οὐκ ὀλίγοι καὶ ἐτελεύτησαν. ἐφ' ᾧ που παραμυθούμενος αὐτούς, δεῖπνον σφίσι δημοσίᾳ διὰ πάσης τῆς νυκτὸς παρέσχε.

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(11) Cf. *Tit.* 7.3, *Aug.* 43.1.

(8) [4] Momm., *Hermes* 21.273 f.
[5] *CIL.* 2.6278.

EFFOSSO ET CIRCUMSTRUCTO IUXTA TIBERIM LACU, ATQUE INTER MAXIMOS IMBRES PERSPECTAVIT.(12) FECIT ET LUDOS SAECULARES,(13) COMPUTATA RATIONE TEMPORUM AD ANNUM NON QUO CLAUDIUS PROXIME,(14) SED QUO OLIM AUGUSTUS(15) EDIDERAT;

Stat. *Silv.* 1.4.17.
nec tantum induerint fatis nova saecula crimen
aut instaurati peccaverit ara Tarenti.
4.1.37 . . mecum altera saecula condes.

Mart. 4.1.7. Hic colat ingenti redeuntia saecula lustro.

Mart. 10.63.3. Bis meo Romano spectata est vita Tarento.

Cens. 17.11. Septimos Domitianos, se XIV, et L. Minucio Rufo coss., anno DCCCXXXXI.

Zosimus 2.4. Μεθ' ὃν Δομιτιανὸς τὸν Κλαύδιον παραπεμψάμενος καὶ τὴν περίοδον τῶν ἐτῶν, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν ἑορτὴν ὁ Σεβαστὸς ἐπετέλεσεν, ἀριθμήσας, ἔδοξε τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς παραδοθέντα φυλάττειν θεσμόν.

For complete discussion of the *ludi saeculares* see Marquardt *St. V.*[2] 3.370 ff.

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(12) For similar force of *per* in composition cf. *per*spectare, *Aug.* 98.5, *per*legere, *Claud.* 41.

(13) These games were given about the middle of 88.[1] Both Censorinus[2] and the Fasti Capitolini[3] give the year 841 (according to the Varronian era). The coins appertaining to the secular games indicate, in most cases, the 14th consulship and the 8th tribunician power of Domitian[4] (Sept. 12, 88–Sept. 12, 89), but two[5] show the 7th tribunician power with the 14th consulate (Jan. 1–Sept. 12, 88) and one the 8th tribunician power with the 13th consulship.[6]

(14) Claudius had held these games in 800/47 to celebrate the opening of the 9th century of the city's existence, disregarding the system of Augustus (Tac. *A.* 11.11; Plin. *N. H.* 8.160, 7.159; Censorinus l. c., Zosimus 1.4).

(15) Augustus gave the games in 17 B. C.[1] Since according

(13) [1] *CIL.* 1. pp. 423 and 442.
[2] Cens. 17. p 11.
[3] *CIL. l. c.*
[4] Cohen Domitien 73–92.
[5] Cohen Domitien 69–70.
[6] Cohen Domitien 72.

(15) [1] Cens. *l. c.; Aug.* 31.4.

IN IIS CIRCENSIUM DIEBUS,(16) QUO FACILIUS CENTUM MISSUS(17) PERAGERENTUR, SINGULOS E SEPTENIS SPATIIS AD QUINA CORRIPUIT.(18)

INSTITUIT ET QUINQUENNALE CERTAMEN(19) CAPITOLINO IOVI TRIPLEX, MUSICUM EQUESTRE GYMNICUM, ET ALI-

Stat. *Silv.* 3.5.92. et Capitolinis quinquennia proxima lustris,

Stat. *Silv.* 4.2.62. saepecoronatis iteres quinquennia lustris!

Cens. 18.15. Quorum agonum primus a Domitiano institutu, fuit, duodecimo eius et Ser. Cornelii Dolabellae consulatu.

Mart. 9.3.8. Quid pro Tarpeiae frondis honore potest?

Phil. *Apol.* 7.12. οὑτοσὶ δέ καίτοι μουσικὴν ἀγωνίαν καταστησάμενος ἐνταῦθα, καὶ στεφανῶν δημοσίᾳ τοὺς νικῶντας, ἔστιν οὓς καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτῶν, ὕστατά φασι μουσικὴν ἀγωνίαν αὐλήσαντάς τε καὶ ᾄσαντας.

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to this emperor's system which was founded on an utterance of the Sibylline oracle, a century was a period of 110 years,[2] Domitian should not have given his games until 93. It is not known why he advanced them to 88.

(16) All the MSS. read *die*, which is clearly impossible. Until the time of Claudius[1] who raised the number to twenty and twenty-four, twelve *missus* per day was the highest. But twenty-four was the customary number under Claudius[2] and perhaps under Nero[3] also. Considering the size of the Circus Maximus (568 metres),[4] and unavoidable delays, twenty-four *missus* must have required about 8 hours. A day was long enough for thirty *missus*,[5] but one hundred would certainly require more than one day.

(17) Once around the *spina* was a lap (*spatium, curriculum*) and the fixed number of laps, usually seven to a race, was called a *missus:* cf. Gell. 3.10.16.

(18) Cf. impensa corripuit, *Tib.* 34.1.

(19) This belonged to the Greek contest of musicians and athletes, strictly called *agones*. These were first introduced into

(15) [2] Hor. *Carm. Saec.* 21; Zosimus 2.6.

(16) [1] Dio 59.7; cf. *Cal.* 18.

[2] Dio 60.27; cf. *Cl.* 21.2.

[3] Cf. *Nero* 22.

[4] Platner[2] 406.

[5] Mart. 8.78.13.

QUANTO PLURIUM QUAM NUNC EST CORONARUM.(20) CERTABANT ENIM ET PROSA ORATIONE GRAECE LATINEQUE AC PRAETER CITHAROEDOS(21) CHOROCITHARISTAE(22) QUOQUE ET PSILOCITHARISTAE,(23) IN STADIO VERO CURSU ETIAM VIRGINES.(24)

Rome by M. Fulvius Nobilior in 186 B. C.[1] In the last century of the republic, Scaurus,[2] Pompey,[3] and Curio[4] gave exhibitions of athletes, but these games did not occur at regular intervals until imperial times. Then there were three principal *agones*—the *Actia*,[5] the *agon Neroneus*,[6] and the *agon Capitoinus*. The last was established in 86 by Domitian and celebrated every fourth year in early summer,[7] and endured until the end of antiquity.[8] For the musical contests Domitian built the *odeum*,[9] and for the athletes the *stadium*,[10] both in the Campus Martius. The victors were crowned with oak leaves.[11]

(20) Although the MSS. have *coronatorum*, *coronarum* should probably be read here as Bremi, Bentley and others think. Cf. *Nero* 22.2, neque dissimulabat velle se palmarum numerum ampliari, and Mart. 4.1.6, perque manus tantas plurima quercus eat, which refers to the crowns given as prizes at this festival.

(21) κιθαρῳδός (κιθάρα, ἀοιδός), one who plays and sings to the cithara.

(22) χορο—κιθαριστής, one who plays a cithara to achorus without vocal accompaniment.

(23) ψιλο—κιθαριστής, one who plays the cithara without singing to it.

(24) Cf. Dio 67.8 (A. D. 91, Triumph over the Dacians): ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ θέαν πολυτελῆ, ἐν ᾗ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἐς ἱστορίαν ἐπίσημον παρελάβομεν, πλὴν ὅτι καὶ Παρθένοι τῷ δρομικῷ ἠγωνίσαντο.

(19) [1] Livy 39.22.2.
[2] Val. Max. 2.4.7.
[3] Dio 39.38.
[4] Plin. *N. H.* 36.120.
[5] Dio 53.1, 51.19, 54.19; Plin. *N. H.* 7.158; Tac. *A.* 15.23.
[6] *Ner.* 12; Tac. *A.* 14.20; Marqdt. *St. V.*[2] 3.543.
[7] Cens. *de Die Nat.* 18.15, quoted above.
[8] Friedl. *S. G.* 2[6], 481 ff.
[9] Friedl. *S. G.* 2[6], 482.
[10] Friedl. *S. G.* 2[6], 483.
[11] Mart. 4.1.6, 54.1; 9.38, 23.5.

CERTAMINI PRAESEDIT(25) CREPIDATUS PURPUREAQUE AMICTUS TOGA GRAECANICA,(26) CAPITE GESTANS CORONAM(27) AUREAM CUM EFFIGIE IOVIS AC IUNONIS MINERVAEQUE, ADSIDENTIBUS DIALI(28) SACERDOTE ET COL-

(25) It was customary for the emperors to be present in person or to appoint someone to represent them at games and festivals.[1]

(26) Both Claudius and Nero wore Greek dress at the games. Dio uses the phrase ἄλλα Ἑλληνικῶς[1] and Tacitus *Graeci amictus*.[2] Suetonius says of Caligula, *aliquando sericatus et cycladatus*.[3] Now the *cyclas* was a garment of Greek origin worn by women[4] and embroidered in gold, which, on account of its similarity to the toga in general cut and length, might be referred to as a *toga Graeconica*.

(27) In the Flavian period the influence of the East in the cult of the emperors a second time triumphed over the West. It replaced the official cult of *Divus Augustus* which had been established by Tiberius and was conducted according to Roman ritual, by a cult whose presiding priest was the ἀρχιερεὺς στεφανηφόρος of the East, and which was dedicated not only to the *Divus Augustus* but to all the *Augusti* (Σεβαστοί) and even the reigning emperor as well. The Roman *flamen* with mitre and fillet made way for the oriental *sacerdos* (ἀρχιερεύς), who wore as a sign of his station a golden crown, and to whom the term *coronatus* was certainly applied in the third century and perhaps earlier.[1]

(28) The *Flamen Dialis* together with the *Flamen Martialis* and *Flamen Quirinalis* constituted the three *flamines maiores* of the Roman priesthood. The *Dialis* was free from all civil duties, and his person, his wife, his children, and his house, the *domus flaminia*,[1] on the Palatine were sacred to Jupiter. See Marquardt, *St. V.* 3.315.

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(25) [1] *Aug.* 45; *Cal.* 18; *Cl.* 2.2; 7; 21; *Nero* 12; *Vit.* 4.

(26) [1] Dio 60.6.
[2] Tac. *A.* 14.21.
[3] *Cal.* 52.
[4] Serv. *ad. Aen.* 1.282.

(27) [1] Ernst Kornemann, Zur Geschichte der antiken Heuscherkulte, Klio., 1.15 ff.

(28) [1] Gell. 10.15.7; Fest. 79, Lindsay; Serv. *ad. Aen.* 2.57.

LEGIO FLAVIALIUM(29) PARI HABITU, NISI QUOD ILLORUM CORONIS INERAT ET IPSIUS IMAGO.
CELEBRABAT ET IN ALBANO QUOTANNIS QUINQUATRIA(30) MINERVAE, CUI COLLEGIUM INSTITUERAT, EX QUO SORTE DUCTI MAGISTERIO FUNGERENTUR EDERENT-

(29) There were four classes of *sodales Flaviales* or *sacerdotes* as they are sometimes called: (1) those charged with the cult of Vespasian—*sodales Flaviales;* (2) those charged with the cult of Titus—*sodales Titiales;* (3) those priests of Vespasian to whom was later entrusted the cult of Titus also—*sodales Flaviales Titiales;* (4) those priests of Titus to whom was entrusted the cult of Vespasian also—*sodales Titiales Flaviales.*[1] Outside of inscriptions this passage in Domitian is the only reference to the *collegium Flavialium.*[2]

Dio 67.1. θεόν μὲν γὰρ τὴν 'Αθηνᾶν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἤγγαλλε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὰ Παναθήναια μεγάλως ἑώρταζε, καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀγῶνας καὶ ποιητῶν καὶ λογογράφων μονομάχων τε κατ' ἔτος ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἐν τῷ 'Αλβανῷ ἐποίει.

(30) This celebration occurred every year from March 19 to 23 inclusive. *Quinquatrus* signified the "fifth dark day," as it came five days after the Ides or full moon.[1] A popular etymology led to its being afterwards regarded as a five days' festival[2] under the later republic and the empire. Strictly, it was a one day's festival, the *lustratio* of the *arma ancilia.*[3] A sacrifice was offered and there was a dance of the Salii in the Comitium.[4] After the selection of March 19 for the dedication of the temple of Minerva on the Aventine, the day became the festival of various trades and arts;[5] and a holiday for schools, extending over the whole five days, which now became included under the name Quinquatrus or Quinquatria.[6] The first day

(29) [1] *CIL.* 6.1523; 2189; 8.597; 7062.
[2] Newton p. 95.

(30) [1] Varro *L. L.* 6.14; Fest. p. 254; Gell. 2.21.7; Charis. 81, 20–23 K.; cf. R. G. Kent, *Class. Phil.* 8.321.
[2] Ov. *Fast.* 3.809, *Trist.* 4.10.13.
[3] Charis. 81.20–23 K.
[4] Fast. Praen. *CIL.* 1. p. 315.
[5] Ov. *Fast.* 3.809–834; Fast. Praen. *l. c.*
[6] Hor. *Ep.* 2.2.197; Juv. 10.115.

QUE EXIMIAS VENATIONES(31) ET SCAENICOS LUDOS SUPERQUE ORATORUM AC POETARUM CERTAMINA.(32) CONGIARIUM(33) POPULO NUMMORUM TRECENORUM TER DEDIT.

of the Festival was marked by offerings and the commemoration of the temple dedicated to Minerva, as stated above; on the other four days there were shows of gladiators and other festivities.[7] The fifth day, March 23, was the *tubilustrium*,[8] sacred to Mars and Nerio[9] for whom Ovid[10] substitutes Pallas. On this day the trumpets used in the sacred rites were passed in review, and purified by the *tubicines sacrorum populi Romani*.[11]

(31) Cf. Juvenal's lines (4.99–101) on M. Acilius Glabrio, the younger, who was forced to fight with wild beasts in these *venationes:*

Profuit ergo nihil misero, quod comminus ursos
Figebat Numidas Albana nudus harena
Venator.

For his death see *Dom.* 10.2.

(32) The prize of the victor in these celebrations was the golden olive crown (Mart. 9.23, 24, 35.9). Statius obtained it for some verses commemorating the wars in Germany and Dacia. He says (*Silv.* 2.5.28): Tu me nitidis Albana ferentem nado comis, sanctoque indutum Caesaris auro; and again (*Silv.* 4.2.66): Cum modo Germanas acies, modo Daca sonantem proelia, Palladio, tua me manus induit auro.

Chronogr. a. 354. Congiarium dedit ter.

Cf. Plin. *Paneg.* 28. Nullam congiario culpam . . . redemisti.

(33) The dates of the first two *congiaria* are not known. Perhaps they occurred in 83 and 89 in connection with the triumphs then celebrated. Martial (8.15.4, et ditant Latias tertia dona tribus) gives us 93 as the year for the third *congiarium*. It was part of the festivities celebrating the success-

(30) [7] *Aug.* 71; *Nero* 34.2; Tac. *A.* 14.4.
[8] Varro 6.14; Festus p. 481, Lindsay.
[9] Porphyr. on Hor. *Epist.* 2.2.209.
[10] Ov. *Fast.* 3.847.
[11] Gell. 1.12; *CIL.* 9.3609, 10.5394.

ATQUE INTER SPECTACULA MUNERIS LARGISSIMUM EPULUM(34) SEPTIMONTIALI(35) SACRO,(36) CUM QUIDEM SE-

ful close of Domitian's expedition against the Sarmatians. Cf. note on 6.1.

The congiarium (Cf. *congius*) was originally a present of oil or wine, given to the populace in addition to the free grain.[1] Under the emperors the free distribution of wine,[2] salt,[3] oil,[4] meat,[5] clothes,[6] and especially of money, which was paid *viritim* on special occasions such as the *deductio in forum* of the crown prince,[7] became an important item of expense. Domitian's three *congiaria* amounted to 45,000,000 denarii. Tiberius,[8] Claudius,[9] and Vespasian,[10] each with one *congiarium* of 15,000,000 denarii to his credit, spent the least in this manner; Constantius and Galerius, with two *congiaria* of 300,000,000 denarii, the most. These figures refer only to *congiaria* in cash.

(34) An *epulum* was a banquet given at the expense of the emperor, magistrate or private individual (i. e., not at the cost of the state), in a public place such as the Forum, to which the whole or a part of the city population was invited.[1] Such banquets were common in Rome at religious festivals, at triumphs and funerals[2] or on other occasions.[3] In the *municipia* they were given either on special occasions[4] or on regularly designated days of the year.[5] If the meal was served at a table in the ordinary manner it was a *cena recta;*[6] if each guest took

(33) [1] *Nero* 7; Tac. *A.* 12.41.
[2] Plin. *N. H.* 14.96.97.
[3] Dio 49.43; Plin. *N. H.* 31.89.
[4] Lamprid. *Alex. Sev.* 22; Dio. *l. c.*
[5] Lamprid. *Alex. Sev.* 26.
[6] Vopisc. *Aurel.* 48.5.
[7] *Tib.* 54; *Nero* 7; Dio 59.2.
[8] *Tib.* 20; Tac. *A.* 2.42.
[9] Dio 60.25; Tac. *A.* 12.41.
[10] *Chronogr.* a. 354, cited in Marquardt, *St. V.*[2] 2. 137 ff.

(34) [1] Orelli 7115; 1368.
[2] Plut. *Luc.* 37.
[3] Liv. 39.46.2.
[4] e. g. on the birthday of Augustus, Dio 54.30.
[5] Wilmanns' Inscriptions 351, 692, 745, 746, 747, 774, 1585, 1589, 1870, 2062, 2348, 2351.
[6] Wilmanns' 307, 2001, 2099.

NATUI EQUITIQUE PANARIIS,(37) PLEBEI SPORTELLIS CUM OBSONIO DISTRIBUTIS, INITIUM VESCENDI(38) PRIMUS FECIT;

his portion home in a basket, a *sportula.*[7] (See note on *sportulas publicas, Dom.* 7.)

(35) If Scaliger's emendation of Festus (Fest. p. 458, Lindsay 459) which makes the *Septimonium* or *Septimontiale Sacrum* coincide with the *Agonium* is correct, the former festival occurred on Dec. 11. Varro (*L. L.* 6.24) says, Dies Septimontium nominatur ab his septem montibus, in quis sita urbs est; feriae non populi sed montanorum modo, ut Paganalia, quae snut aliquoius pagi. The seven *montes* were the Cermalus, Palatium, Sucusa, Mons Oppius, Fagutal, Mons Cispius, and the Velia (Platner[2] 39; cf. Fest. 459). There was a sacrifice called the *Palatuar* (Fest. 476) which was made on the Palatine by the *flamen Palatualis* (Fest. 284, 285); but we do not know to what deity, and can only guess that it was Pales or Palatua (Fowler 267). On this day no vehicles drawn by beasts of burden were allowed in the city (Plut. *Q. R.* 69). Perhaps this was a survival from a time when the farm-wagons of the *pagani* really never ascended to the hills (Fowler 267).

(36) The best MSS. read *septimontiali sacrorum quidem*, which Gronovius changed to the reading adopted above. SACRORUM could easily have arisen from SACROCUM either through resemblance in the shape of the letters, or a mere slip of the scribe caused by the first R. In *Jul.* 50.2 Suetonius uses *cum quidem* followed by the indicative to introduce a further detail of description for an action already stated in the leading clause. See Alex., p. 37.

(37) Cf. Stat. *Silv.* 1.6. 31–34:

> hi panaria candidasque mappas
> subvectant epulasque lautiores,
> illi marcida vina largiuntur;
> Idaeas totidem putes ministros.

(38) Cf. Stat. *Silv.* 1.6. 48–50:

> Nobiscum socias dapes inisti
> iam se, quisquis is est, inops beatus
> convivam ducis esse gloriatur.

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(34) [7] *Aug.* 74; Mart. 2.69.7; 7.20.2; 8.50.10: Promissa est nobis sportula, recta data est.

DIEQUE PROXIMO OMNE GENUS RERUM MISSILIA[(39)] SPARSIT, ET QUIA PARS MAIOR INTRA POPULARIA[(40)] DECIDERAT QUINQUAGENAS TESSERAS[(41)] IN SINGULOS CUNEOS[(42)] EQUESTRIS AC SENATORII ORDINIS PRONUNTIAVIT.

Dio. 67.4. τοῖς τε θεωμένοις συχνὰ διὰ τῶν σφαιρίων ἐδίδου καί ποτε καὶ ἐδείπνισεν αὐτοὺς κατὰ χώραν καθημένους, οἶνόν τε σφίσι πολλαχῇ ῥέοντα νυκτὸς παρέσχεν.

(This occurred, however, after the expedition against the Chatti in 83 and not at the *Septimontiale sacrum.*)

(39) Cf. *Nero* 11.2, Sparsa et populo missilia omnium rerum per omnes dies; singula cotidie milia avium cuiusque generis, multiplex penus, vestis, aurum, argentum, gemmae, margaritae, tabulae pictae, mancipia, iumenta atque etiam mansuetae ferae, novissime naves, insulae, agri.

(40) *popularia*; sc. *subsellia.*

(41) *Tesserae* were small tablets or round hollow balls of wood, marked with the amount of money, or the name of the article to which it entitled its holder. For *tesserae vinariae* see Mart. 1.11; for *nummariae* see *Aug.* 41.2.

(42) The *cunei* were the blocks of seats in the auditorium of a theatre, so called from their wedge-like shape. Cf. Verg. *Georg.* 2.508:

hunc plausus hiantem
per cuneos geminatus enim plebisque patrumque
corripuit.

V. PLURIMA ET AMPLISSIMA OPERA(1) INCENDIO(2) ABSUMPTA RESTITUIT,
IN QUIS ET CAPITOLIUM,(3) QUOD RURSUS ARSERAT; SED

Hieron. *chron. a Abr.* 2105. Multa opera Romae facta, in quis Capitolium Forum transitorium Divorum porticus Isium ac Serapium Stadium Horrea Chalcidica Odium Forum Traiani Thermae Traianae et Titianae Senatus Ludus matutinus Mica aurea Meta sudans et Pantheum.

Mart. 9.397 ff.

pro Capitolinis quid enim tibi solvere templis
quid pro Tarpeiae frondis honore potest?
quid pro culminibus geminis matrona Tonantis?
Pallada praetereo; res agit illa tuas.
quid loquar Alciden Phoebumque piosque Laconas?
addita quid Latio Flavia templa polo?

Eutr. 7.23. Romae quoque multa opera fecit, in his Capitolium et Forum Transitorium, Divorum Porticus, Isium ac Seraphium et Stadium.

Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 11.4. Multaeque operum inchoatae per patrem vel fratris studio atque inprimis Capitolium absoluit. Ps. Aur. Vict. *Epit.* 11.3. Romae multa aedificia vel coepta vel a fundamentis construxit.

Oros. *Hist.* 7.10.2. Plurimas urbis aedes destructis populi Romani rebus exstruxit.

Chronogr. a 354. Hoc imp. multae operae publicae fabricatae sunt; atria VII. horrea piperataria ubi modo est basilica Constantiniana, et horrea Vespasiana templum Castorum et Minervae, portam Capenam, gentem Flaviam, Divorum, Iseum et Serapeum, Minervam Calcidicam, Odeum, Minuciam veterem, stadium, et thermas Titianas et Traianas, amphitheatrum usque ad clipea, templum Vespasiani et Titi, Capitolium, senatum, ludos IIII, Palatium, metam sudantem, et Panteum.

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(1) For an account of these and other buildings erected by Domitian see Gsell, pp. 90 ff.; Pauly 6^2. 2590 ff.

(2) The great fire in the year 80 which lasted three days and three nights (*Tit.* 8.3; Dio 66.24; Plut. *Publicola* 15).

(3) The Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was the most famous

OMNIA SUB TITULO TANTUM SUO AC SINE ULLA PRISTINI AUCTORIS MEMORIA.[(4)]

NOVAM AUTEM EXCITAVIT AEDEM IN CAPITOLIO CUSTODI IOVI[(5)] ET FORUM QUOD NUNC NERVAE VOCATUR,[(6)] ITEM FLAVIAE TEMPLUM GENTIS.[(7)]

of Domitian's constructions.[1] It had burned down for the third time in 80,[2] and Titus had decreed its restoration.[3] Titus and Domitian probably did not change the plan of the edifice since we know that at its third reconstruction by Vespasian the *haruspices* forbade any alteration therein,[4] but Domitian completed the building with great magnificence.[5] The temple was dedicated in 82,[6] and endured until the last days of the empire.[7]

(4) Hadrian's practice was quite the opposite; cf. Spart. *Hadr.* 19, Cum opera ubique infinita fecessit, numquam ipse, nisi in Traiani patris templo, nomen suum scripsit. This is confirmed by the inscription of Agrippa (*CIL.* 6.396) on the Pantheon, rebuilt in 121–4 by Hadrian.

(5) Domitian also restored the edifices within the precinct of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. As Caesar, he had erected a shrine to *Juppiter Conservator* on the site of the cell of the *aedituus* where he took refuge in the Vitellian War,[1] 69. When he became emperor, he replaced the shrine by a magnificent temple to Juppiter Custos.[2] *Juppiter Conservator* and *Juppiter Custos* were the same divinity.[3] Domitian also restored the cabin of Romulus, which was in the precinct of the Temple of Juppiter Capitolinus.[4]

(6) As this forum was dedicated by Nerva,[1] it was usually known as the *Forum Nervae*. It was also called the *Forum*

(3) [1] Plut. *Publicola* 15; Mart. 9.1.5; 9.3.7; 13.74.2; Stat. *Silv.* 1.6.102; 3.4.105; 4.3.16 and 160; Sil. 3.623; Platner[2] 301.
[2] See note on *incendio* above.
[3] *CIL.* 6.2059.
[4] Tac. *H.* 4.53.
[5] Plut. *l. c.*; Sil. *l. c.*
[6] Cohen, Domitien 23. Capit<olium> resti<tutum>.
[7] Platner *l. c.*

(5) [1] *Dom.* 1.1; Tac. *H.* 3.74.
[2] Tac. *H. l. c.*; Mart. 6.10.3; cf. 9.3.7.
[3] Orelli 1228; Preller. *Röm. Myth.* 1[3]. 238; cf. Sen. *Nat.* 2.45.
[4] Mart. 8.80.6; Vitruv. 2.1.5; Platner [2], 302.

(6) [1] Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 12; *CIL.* 6.953.

ET STADIUM[(8)] ET ODIUM[(9)] ET NAUMACHIA,[(10)] E CUIUS

Transitorium[2] or *Pervium*,[3] because it was the main thoroughfare between the *Subura* and the *Forum Romanum* and between the *fora* of Augustus and Vespasian. It is mentioned for the first time in literature in the first book of Martial, which was published in 86.[4] In the center was a four-doored temple of *Ianus quadrifrons*,[5] which stood here before the construction of the forum,[6] and may or may not have been rebuilt by Domitian. At the northern end of the forum was an immense temple to Minerva.[7] During the reign of Alexander Severus statues of all the emperors who had been deified were set up in this square.[8]

(7) See note on 1.1.

(8) The modern piazza Navona corresponds with the arena of the stadium, the length of which seems to have been about 250 metres, and the surrounding buildings stand on the ruins of the *cavea*. The *stadium Domitiani* was probably restored by Alexander Severus,[1] and was known in the middle ages as the *stadium Alexandrinum*. It could seat about 30,000 spectators.[2] At the time of Constantine's visit to Rome it was spoken of as one of the most beautiful buildings in the city.[3]

(9) The *odium*, which contained places for more than 10,000,[1] appears to have been finished or restored by Trajan's architect, Apollodorus.[2] In the fifth century Polemius Silvius included it among the seven wonders of Rome.[3]

(10) It is probable that the Naumachia of Domitian was northwest of the Mausoleum of Hadrian, in the district called *regio naumachiae* in the middle ages, where remains of such a structure have been found (Platner[2] 514). Cf. *Dom.* 4.2, effosso

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(6) [2] Lamprid. *Alex.* 28; 36.
[3] Aur. Vict. l. c.
[4] Mart. 1.2.8.
[5] Servius *ad Aen.* 7.607; Mart. 10.28; Stat. *Silv.* 4.3.9; 4.1.13.
[6] Servius l. c.
[7] Aur. Vict. l. c.; *CIL.* 6.953.
[8] Lamprid. *Alex.* 28.

(8) [1] Lampr. *Alex.* 24.
[2] *Notitia* 33886; *Curiosum* 30088.
[3] Amm. Marcell. 16.10.14.

(9) [1] *Notitia* 11600; *Curiosum* 10600.
[2] Dio 69.4; Pausanias 5.12.6.
[3] *Chronica minora* (ed. Momm.), p. 545.

POSTEA LAPIDE MAXIMUS CIRCUS DEUSTIS[11] UTRIMQUE LATERIBUS EXSTRUCTUS EST.

et circumstructo iuxta Tiberim lacu and Dio 67.8, τοῦτο δὲ, καὶ ἐν καινῷ τινι χωρίῳ ναυμαχίαν ἐπετέλεσε (after the double triumph over the Daci and Chatti). Martial (1.5) makes Domitian say of his naumachia: Vis, puto, cum libro, Marce, natare tuo. Do tibi naumachiam, tu das epigrammata nobis. The structure is not mentioned in either the *Curiosum* or the *Notitia*.

(11) The great fire of 64[1] must have destroyed the Circus Maximus so completely that the restoration which followed was practically a rebuilding. As is shown by the *postea* above, it must have again suffered from fire, but to what extent is unknown.[2] For a parallel use of *deustis*, cf. Tac. *A*. 6.45.

(12) By Trajan (Dio 68.7).

(11) [1] Tac. *A*. 15.38.
[2] Platner[2] 405.

VI. Expeditiones partim sponte suscepit, partim necessario: sponte in Chattos,[1]

Oros. 7.10.3–4. bellum adversum Germanos et Dacos per legatos gessit pari rei publicae pernicie; cum et in urbe ipse senatum populumque laniaret, et foris male circumactum exercitum adsidua hostes caede conficerent. . . . Suo nomine superatorum hostium de extinctis legionibus triumphavit.

Cf. also Eutr. 7.23.4; Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 11.4; Ps. Aur. Vict. *Epit.* 11.2.

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(1) The Chatti were the most powerful of the German tribes. They occupied the modern Hesse to the north and northeast of the Roman possessions on the right bank of the Rhine, from which they were separated by the *decumates agri.*[1] We know that this war was begun in 83 and that Domitian celebrated a triumph towards the end of this same year.[2] But of the war itself we know practically nothing. Dio maintains that Domitian returned to Rome without having seen a trace of war anywhere.[3] But Frontinus, who accompanied the emperor, reports a complete victory.[4] At the close of the campaign of 83 Domitian sought to secure peace to the Roman possessions beyond the Rhine by building the now much discussed *limes.*[5] Within this rampart the country was partly deforested,[6] and the Romans forbade the Germans to settle within a certain zone just outside it.[7] There now exists in Germany remains of a Roman rampart extending from the Rhine to the Danube. This is divided into two parts—the *limes Germanicus* (between the Rhine and the Lorch), and the *limes Rheticus* (between the Lorch and the Danube).[8] The former is rather a customs barrier and line of observation than a rampart; its length is 372 kilometres.[8] According to Tacitus and Frontinus all or part of it may have been built by Domitian, but all of the brick stamps yet found are later.

(1) [1] Tac. *Germ.* 29.
[2] Gsell 182 ff.; Pauly 6^2.2555 ff.
[3] Dio 67.4; Plin. *Paneg.* 16; Tac. *Agr.* 39.
[4] Frontin. *Strat.* 1.1.8; 2.11.7.
[5] Frontin. *Strat.* 1.3.10.
[6] Frontin. *l. c.*
[7] Laterculus Veronensis, ed. O. Seeck, in the *Notitia dignitatum*, p. 253.

NECESSARIO UNAM IN SARMATAS LEGIONE CUM LEGATO

Domitian triumphed at Rome in the autumn of 83. He received from the Senate the title of Germanicus,[9] the right to appear in the senate clad in the στολὴ ἐπινίκιος[10] and with a body guard of twenty-four lictors;[11] later he was made a consul for ten years.[12] Splendid games were celebrated;[13] many coins commemorate the victory over the Chatti,[14] and the poets are extravagant in their laudations.[15] However, there appears to have been trouble with the Chatti in 85,[16] and another treaty concluded.[17]

Dio 67.6. Μέγιστος δὲ δὴ πόλεμος 'Ρωμαίοις τότε πρὸς τοὺς Δακοὺς ἐγένετο————ὁ Δομιτιανὸς μέν οὖν ἐξεστρατεύσατο μεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς, οὐ μέντοι καὶ τοῦ πολέμου προσήψατο, ἀλλ' ἐν πόλει τινὶ Μυσίας ὑπομείνας, ὕβριζεν ὥσπερ εἰώθει————, 67.7. 'ἔπεμψε διὰ ταχέων πρὸς τὸν Δεκέβαλον τὸν Δακῶν Βασιλέα, καὶ ἐς σπονδὰς αὐτὸν ὑπηγάγετο, ἃς πολλάκις αἰτήσαντι αὐτῷ πρότερον οὐκ ἐδεδώκει.

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(2) The legion was probably the xx Rapax.[1] Domitian set out on this expedition in May 92, for he returned to Rome in January 93[2] after an absence of eight months.[3] Domitian himself went as far as Pannonia,[4] and possibly even visited the lower Danube,[5] and the Rhine again, for Martial[6] writes:

Hiberna quamvis Arctos et undis Peuce
et ungularum pulsibus calens Hister
fractusque cornu iam ter improbo Rhenus
teneat domantem regna perfidae gentis
te, summe mundi rector et parens urbis:
abesse nostris non tamen potes votis.

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(1) [8] Gsell 193 ff.
[9] Frontin. *Strat.* II.II.7; Mart. 14.170; 2.2.3.
[10] Dio 67.4.
[11] Dio l. c.
[12] See note on 13.3.
[13] Dio 67.4; Mart. 1.5, 6, 11, 21, 22, 26, 43, 48, 51, 60, 104.
[14] Cohen, *Domitien* 139, 357, 424, 425, 463, 464, 465, 467, 646, 730.
[15] Mart. 2.2.
[16] Cohen, *Domitien* 135.
[17] Cohen, *Domitien* 496, 497; cf. 501. This type is later repeated.
(2) [1] Gsell. 225.
[2] Mart. 7.8; 8.2; 8.8.
[3] Mart. 9.31.3.
[4] Mart. 8.15.1.
[5] Sil. 3.616; Stat. *Silv.* 4.7.49 ff.
[6] 7.7; cf. 8.11.1.

SIMUL CAESA;(2) IN DACOS DUAS,(3) PRIMAM OPPIO SABINO(4) CONSULARI OPPRESSO, SECUNDAM CORNELIO FUSCO(5) PRAEFECTO COHORTIUM PRAETORIANARUM, CUI BELLI SUMMAM COMMISERAT.

The Dacians probably remained loyal, since Martial, in books 7 and 8, in which he often mentions Domitian's campaigns, refers to them only in passing.[7]

(3) The invasion of Moesia which brought on the first expedition occurred toward the end of 85.[1] Domitian left Rome accompanied by Cornelius Fuscus at the end of January. The Dacians were conquered and driven from Roman territory.[2] Domitian then entrusted the war to Cornelius Fuscus and returned to Rome to celebrate the Capitoline games. Pauly's proof[3] of a triumph at this time does not seem conclusive. At the end of 88 Antonius Saturninus revolted.[4] The Chatti were his allies[5] and Domitian undertook a second expedition against them,[6] and made a treaty with them. He then proceeded to the Danube and conquered the Dacians for a second time.

(4) Oppius Sabinus was *consul ordinarius* in 84, with Domitian.[1]

(5) Cornelius Fuscus was of an illustrious family, and procurator of Pannonia in 69.[1] He became a staunch supporter of the Flavians, and received the *Praetoria insignia*.[2] According to Juvenal[3] he was present at Domitian's notorious turbot *concilium*. In 90 Martial wrote an epitaph for Fuscus, in which he regards his death as avenged by the emperor's glorious victories over the Dacians.[4]

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(2) [7] e. g. Mart. 8.11.3.

(3) [1] Gsell 211 ff.; Pauly 6².2562 ff.

[2] Hier. *a. Abr.* 2102.

[3] Stat. *Silv.* 3.3.118, 169; Juv. 4.111.

[4] See note on chapter 6.2 below.

[5] Stat. *Silv.* 1.1.27; 3.3.168.

[6] Stat. *Silv.* 1.1.6, 51.

(4) [1] *Fasti Consulares*, p. 84, Liebenam.

(5) [1] Tac. *H.* 2.86.

[2] Tac. *H.* 4.4.

[3] Juv. 4.111–112.

[4] Mart. 4.76.

DE CHATTIS DACISQUE POST VARIA PROELIA DUPLICEM TRIUMPHUM(6) EGIT, DE SARMATIS(7) LAUREAM(8) MODO CAPITOLINO IOVI RETTULIT.(9)

Mart. 8.15.5–9.

Hos quoque secretos memoravit Roma triumphos,
nec minor ista tuae laurea pacis erat,
quod tibi de sancta credis pietate tuorum.
Principis est virtus maxima, nosse suos.

Stat. *Silv.* 3.3.170. (clementia Domitiani.)

quae modo Marcomanos post horrida bella vagosque
Sauromatas Latio non est dignata triumpho.

Mart. 9.101.19–20.

Saepe recusatos parcus duxisse triumphos
victor Hyperboreo nomen ab orbe tulit.

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(6) The triumph occurred at the end of 89.[1] According to the authors who so cordially hated Domitian the trophies were shams.[2] The senate, however, decreed him the title of Dacicus,[3] and the erection of an equestrian statue of the emperor in the Forum.[4] According to Dio[5] the whole empire was filled with gold and silver statues of the prince. Magnificent games were given[6] and the poets outdid themselves in flattering the emperor.[7]

(7) Before Domitian returned it was generally supposed that he would celebrate a triumph.[1] Instead, however, there were merely various festivities on a grand scale.[2] He perhaps received the cognomen *Sarmaticus* from the senate;[3] a triumphal arch was erected at the place of his entrance into the city;[4] there were solemn sacrifices;[5] and Martial, who, during the

(6) [1] Hier. *a. Abr.* 2106; Mart. 6.10.8; 6.4.2.
[2] Dio 67.6; Pliny *Paneg.* 16; Plin. *Epist.* 8.4.2.
[3] Mart. *praef.* Bk. 8.
[4] Stat. *Silv.* 1.1; Platner[2] 261.
[5] 67.8.
[6] Mart. 5.19.3; 6.4.2; 6.10.8.
[7] Stat. *l. c.*; cf. 4.2.66; Mart. 5.19; 6.4; 6.10; 8.65.9.

(7) [1] Mart. 7.2.7; 6.7; 8.7.
[2] Mart. 8.11, 15, 26, 30, 50, 54, 55.
[3] Mart. 9.93.7, cf. 9.101.20.
[4] Mart. 8.65.
[5] Mart. 8.4; 15.2.

BELLUM CIVILE MOTUM(10) A L. ANTONIO, SUPERIORIS GERMANIAE PRAESIDE, CONFECIT ABSENS(11) FELICITATE MIRA, CUM IPSA DIMICATIONIS HORA RESOLUTUS REPENTE RHENUS TRANSITURAS AD ANTONIUM COPIAS BARBARORUM INHIBUISSET.

DE QUA VICTORIA PRAESAGIIS PRIUS QUAM NUNTIIS COMPERIT, SIQUIDEM IPSO QUO DIMICATUM ERAT DIE

absence of his master, had expressed the regrets of the entire population,[6] saluted his return in enthusiastic verses.[7]

(8) Cf. the following passages:

Plin. *Paneg.* 8.3, Allata erat ex Pannonia laurea. Hanc imperator Nerva in gremio Iovis collocarat.

Pliny *N. H.* 15. 133, Ex his in gremio Iovis optumi maxumique deponitur quotiens laetitiam nova victoria attulit.

(9) Cf. *Nero* 13.2.

Ps. Aur. Vict. *Epit.* 11.9. His eius saevitiis, ac maxime iniuria verborum, . . . accensus Antonius curans Germaniam superiorem, imperium corripuit. Quo per Norbanum Appium acie strato. . . .

Mart. 4.11.1–4.

Dum nimium vano tumefactus nomine gaudes
  et Saturninum te, miser, esse pudet,
impia Parrhasia movisti bella sub ursa,
  qualia qui Phariae coniugis arma tulit.

Mart. 10.7.3–5.

Sic semper liquidis fruaris undis,
nec te barbara contumeliosi
calcatum rota, conterat bubulci.

Dio 67.11. Ἀντώνιος δέ τις ἐν Γερμανίᾳ ἄρχων κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τῷ Δομιτιανῷ ἐπανέστη, ὃν Λούκιος Μάξιμος κατηγωνίσατο καὶ καθεῖλεν.

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(10) At the end of 88 (Gsell 249 ff.; Pauly 6^2.2567 ff.).

(11) By his general, L. Norbanus Appius Maximus; Cf. Martial 9.84.1–2:

Cum tua sacrilegos contra, Norbane, furores
  Staret pro domino Caesare sancta fides.

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(7) [6] Mart. 7.5, 6, 7, 8.
[7] Mart. 8.15.

STATUAM EIUS ROMAE INSIGNIS AQUILA CIRCUMPLEXA PINNIS CLANGORES LAETISSIMOS EDIDIT;[(12)] PAULOQUE POST OCCISUM ANTONIUM ADEO VULGATUM EST, UT CAPUT QUOQUE ADPORTATUM EIUS VIDISSE SE PLERIQUE CONTENDERENT.

Plut. *Aemil. Paul.* 25. Ὅτε γαρ Ἀντώνιος ἀπέστη Δομιτιανοῦ, καὶ πολὺς πόλεμος ἀπὸ Γερμανίας προσεδοκᾶτο, τῆς Ῥώμης ταραττομένης, ἄφνω καὶ αὐτομάτως ὁ δῆμος ἐξ αὐτοῦ φῆμην ἀνέδωκε νίκης, καὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπέδραμελόγος, αὐτόν τε τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀνηρῆσθαι, καὶ τοῦ σὺν αὐτῷ στρατεύματος ἡττημένου μηδὲν μέρος λελεῖφθαι. Τοσαύτην δὲ λαμπρότητα καὶ ῥύμην ἡ πίστις ἔσχεν, ὥστε καὶ θῦσαι τῶν ἐν τέλει πολλούς. Ζητουμένου δὲ τοῦ πρώτου φράσαντος, ὡς οὐδεὶς ἦν, ἄλλ' ὁ λόγος εἰς ἄλλον ἐξ ἄλλου διωκόμενος ἀνέφευγε, καὶ τέλος καταδὺς, ὥσπερ εἰς πέλαγος ἀχανὲς, τὸν ἄπειρον ὄχλον, ἐφάνη μηδεμίαν ἀρχὴν ἔχων βέβαιον, αὕτη μὲν ἡ φήμη ταχὺ τῆς πόλεως ἐξεῤῥύη. Πορευομένῳ δὲ τῷ Δομιτιανῷ μετὰ δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἤδη καθ' ὁδὸν ἀγγελία καὶ γράμματα φράζοντα τὴν νίκην ἀπήντησεν. Ἡ δ'αὐτοῦ τοῦ κατορθώματος ἡμέρα καὶ τῆς φήμης ἐγίγνετο, ἐπὶ πλέον, ἢ δισμυρίους σταδίους, τῶν τόπων διεστώτων. Ταῦτα μὲν οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς.

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(12) For another example of foretelling future events from what happens to the statue of the person most concerned, cf. *Aug.* 97.2: Sub idem tempus ictu fulminis ex inscriptione statuae eius prima nominis littera effluxit; responsum est, centum solos dies posthac victurum, quem numerum C littera notaret, futurumque ut inter deos referretur, quod *aesar*, id est reliqua pars e Caesaris nomine, Etrusca lingua deus vocaretur.

VII. MULTA ETIAM IN COMMUNI RERUM USU NOVAVIT(1) SPORTULAS PUBLICAS SUSTULIT REVOCATA RECTARUM CENARUM CONSUETUDINE;(2) DUAS CIRCENSIBUS GREGUM FACTIONES AURATI PURPUREIQUE PANNI AD QUATTUOR PRISTINAS(3) ADDIDIT;

Dio 67.4. τοῖς δὲ ἁρματηλάταις δύο γένη ἕτερα, τὸ μὲν χρυσοῦν τὸ δὲ πορφυροῦν ὀνομάσας, προσκατέστησε.

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(1) In his capacity of censor. Domitian was made censor for life toward the close of 85, an honor which no one had ever before received.[1]

(2) The difference between the *cena recta* and the *sportula*, whether the latter was paid in money or in a portion of food to be carried home in the little basket (sportula), lay in the fact that the people, when invited to the former, had high expectations as to the table fittings, couches, etc., all of which made it very expensive for the host. Q. Aelius Tubero failed to by elected praetor because he disappointed the people by the meanness of an *epulum* he had given them.[1] With this compare the magnificence of Julius Caesar in the matter of banquets.[2] Domitian's regulation referred only to sportulas given by private individuals or magistrates, and was probably intended as a blow to the aristocracy, many of whom could ill afford to give their clients a *cena recta*. He himself continued the sportula.[3] See note on *epulum*, *Dom.* 4.5.

(3) Originally there were only two factions, the *albata* and the *russata* (Tertull. *de Spect.* 9). It is not known when they arose. Pliny (*N. H.* 7.186) relates the burial of a charioteer of the red, and immediately thereafter the death of M. Lepidus. The latter died about 77 B. C. and so perhaps these two colors first appeared at that time. According to Lydus (4.25) the next two colors were not added simultaneously, but first the green (prasina) and then the blue (veneta). The *prasina* is first mentioned in the time of Caligula (*Cal.* 55; Dio 59.14). The colors added by Domitian (in 83 apparently, since Dio,

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(1) [1] Cohen, 13, 17, 18, 119, 308, 419, 431, 470, 497–500, 509, 642 (coins of 85); Gsell, p. 54 n. 6; Pauly, 2561.

(2) [1] Cic. *Mur.* 36.75.
[2] *Jul.* 38.2.
[3] *Dom.* 4.5.

INTERDIXIT HISTRIONIBUS(4) SCAENAM, INTRA DOMUM QUIDEM EXERCENDI ARTEM(5) IURE CONCESSO;

in the passage quoted above, relates it as having occurred shortly after the expedition against the Chatti) are not mentioned after the death of that emperor (Marqd. *St. V.*² 3.497). It is worthy of note that Martial mentions the *grex purpureus* only once (Mart. 14.55) and in one of his earliest books. It is therefore possible that Domitian soon abolished the two factions which he had added. In the late empire the *albata* was united with *prasina*, and the *russata* with the *veneta*. The four colors still existed at Constantinople in the ninth century, but a writer of the twelfth century speaks of the parties of the circus as a thing of the past (Marqd., *St. V.*² 3.498, 499).

Plin. *Paneg.* 46. Neque enim a te (Traiano) minore concentu ut tolleres pantomimos quam a patre tuo ut restitueret exactum est. Utrumque recte; nam et restitui oportebat quos sustulerat malus princeps et tolli restitutos.

(4) Forcellini defines: *Histrio* est qui certae alicuius personnae et in scena tantum, et personnatus in togatis fabulis imitationem peragit; *mimus* autem extra scaenam, et sine larva quarumcumque personarum acta et dicta risua causa in palliatis fabulis persequitur; *pantomimus* vero solo gestu, omissa vocis pronunciatione, omnia in fabulis itidem palliatis repraesentat. But this distinction was no longer maintained in imperial times. The *pantomimi* had become so popular among the upper classes that *histrio* came to be interchangeable with *pantomimus*. The lower classes preferred the mime, because the mythological contents of the pantomime required a certain degree of education, but even the latter were highly immoral. The *pantomimi* themselves were for the most part of low character, and their rivalries often caused disorders and tumults.
See *Nero* 26.2.

(5) Cf. Rolfe on "Die Ellipse von Ars." *A. L. L.* 10.241.

Hieron. *a. Abr.* 2098: Domitianus eunuchos fieri prohibuit.

Dio 67.2. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, καίπερ καὶ αὐτὸς Ἐαρίνου τινὸς εὐνούχου ἐρῶν ὅμεως ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁ Τίτος ἰσχυρῶς περὶ τοὺς ἐκτομιάς ἐσπουδάκει, ἀπηγόρευσεν ἐπὶ ἐκείνου ὕβρει, μηδένα ἔτι ἐν τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ ἐκτέμνεσθαι.

CASTRARI MARES VETUIT;(6) SPADONUM, QUI RESIDUI APUD MANGONES ERANT, PRETIA MODERATUS EST.

AD SUMMAM QUONDAM (7) UBERTATEM VINI, FRUMENTI VERO INOPIAM EXISTIMANS NIMIO VINEARUM STUDIO NEGLEGI ARVA, EDIXIT, NE QUIS IN ITALIA NOVELLARET UTQUE IN PROVINCIIS VINETA SUCCIDERENTUR, RELICTA

Philos. *Apol.* 6.42. Δομιτιανοῦ δὲ Βασιλέως ὑπὸ τὸν ἀυτὸν χρόνον εὐνούχους τε μὴ ποιεῖν νομοθετήσαντος.

Stat. *Silv.* 3.4.73–77.

nondum pulchra ducis clementia coeperat ortu
intactos servare mares; nunc frangere sexum
atque hominem mutare nefas gavisaque solos
quos genuit natura videt, nec lege sinistra
ferre timent famulae natorum pondera matres.

Stat. *Silv.* 4.3.13–15.

quis fortem vetat interire sexum
et censor prohibet mares adultos
pulchrae supplicium timere formae,

Amm. Marcell. 18.4.5. ne intra terminos iuris dictionis Romanae, castraret quisquam puerum;

Mart. 9.6.4–7.

non puer avari sectus arte mangonis
virilitatis damna maeret ereptae,
nec quam superbus computet stipem leno,
dat prostituto misera mater infanti.

Cf. also 2.60, 6.2, 9.8.

Stat. *Silv.* 4.3.11.

qui castae Cereri diu negata
reddit iugera sobriasque terras,

Euseb. *a. Abr.* 2108 (Oct. 1, 91–Sept. 30, 92).

ὁ αυτὸς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἄμπελον φυτεύεσθαι ἐκώλυσε.

Hieron.: Domitianus prohibuit vites in urbibus seri.

Philos. *Apol.* 6.42. Δομιτιανοῦ ——— ἀμπέλους τε μὴ φυτεύειν ἔτι καὶ τὰς πεφυτευμένας δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκκόπτειν,

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(6) But Domitian was very fond of the eunuch Flavius Earinus, his freedman.[1] He even had a lock of this person's hair consecrated to Aesculapius at Pergamus, and commanded Martial and Statius to celebrate this event in their verses.[2]

(6) [1] Dio 67.2.
[2] Mart. 9.11, 12, 13, 16, 17, 36; Stat. *Silv.* 3.4.

UBI PLURIMUM DIMIDIA PARTE; NEC (8) EXEQUI REM PERSEVERAVIT.(9) QUAEDAM EX MAXIMIS OFFICIIS INTER LIBERTINOS EQUITESQUE R. COMMUNICAVIT.(10)

GEMINARI LEGIONUM CASTRA PROHIBUIT NEC PLUS QUAM

(7) MSS. MG$^{\delta}$ have *quandam*. *Quondam* is the correct reading; cf. magna quondam sterilitate (*Aug.* 42).

(8) *Nec* here equals *nec vero* or *neque tamen;* cf. *Jul.* 79.

(9) This measure was well received in Italy, because it put a stop to the competition of provincial wines with those of Italy. On the other hand, the provinces were highly displeased and sent deputations to plead for the repeal of the edict[1] so that Domitian was unable to carry it through.[2]

(10) For the greater part of the first century the emperors, like private individuals, used their slaves and freedmen as assistants in the administration as well as for personal service. But as the imperial system advanced, freedmen were thrust forth from some of the principal Court posts and knights replaced them. Freedmen were only employed in the public business in subordinate positions and restricted to personal service. The freedmen who ruled in Claudius's name were the principals of the Imperial Finance Committee (*a rationibus*), of the Secretariate (*a libellis*) and the Petition and Grievance Department (*ab epistulis*); at Commodus's court, the all-powerful freedmen were the chamberlains.

Up to the time of Vitellius freedmen were the absolute possessors of the Court offices. Vitellius was the first to grant these positions to knights (Tac. *H.* 1.58). Under Domitian the Secretariate and the Department for Petitions and Grievances were occupied by freedmen; but in his reign and in those of Nerva and Trajan a knight was set over the Secretariate, under Trajan, a freedman as well. Hadrian was the first to draw a hard and fast line between the administration of the empire and of the royal house, and to replace freedmen by an imperial bureaucracy with magisterial powers (Friedl.[6] 1.82 ff.).

However some scholars think that the above passage in Domitian refers to those offices which had formerly been restricted to the senatorial order (cf. Rolfe on *Dom.* 7.2).

(9) [1] Philos. *Soph.* 1.6. p. 221, ed. Kayser.

[2] See note on *Dom.* 14.2.

MILLE NUMMOS A QUOQUAM AD SIGNA DEPONI,(11) QUOD L. ANTONIUS APUD DUARUM LEGIONUM HIBERNA RES NOVAS MOLIENS FIDUCIAM CEPISSE ETIAM EX DEPOSITORUM SUMMA VIDEBATUR.
ADDIDIT ET QUARTUM STIPENDIUM(12) MILITI AUREOS TERNOS.

(11) Vegetius (2.20): Illud vero ab antiquis divinitus institutum est, ut ex donativo, quod milites consecuntur, dimidia pars sequestraretur apud signa et ibidem ipsis militibus servaretur, ne per luxum aut inanium rerum comparationem ab contubernalibus possit absumi. Plerique enim homines et praecipue pauperes tantum erogant, quantum habere potuerint. Sepositio autem ista pecuniae primum ipsis contubernalibus docetur adcommoda; nam cum publica sustententur annona, ex omnibus donativis augetur eorum pro medietate castrense peculium.[1] Miles deinde, qui sumptus suos scit apud signa depositos, de deserendo nihil cogitat, magis diligit signa, pro illis in acie fortius dimicat, more humani ingenii, ut pro illis habeat maximam curam, in quibus suam videt positam esse substantiam. Denique decem folles, hoc est decem sacci, per cohortes singulas ponebantur, in quibus haec ratio condebatur. Addebatur etiam saccus undecimus, in quem tota legio particulam aliquam conferebat, sepulturae scilicet causa, ut, si quis ex contubernalibus defecisset, de illo undecimo sacco ad sepulturam ipsius promeretur expensa. Haec ratio apud signiferos, ut nunc dicunt, in cofino servabatur. Et ideo signiferi non solum fideles sed etiam litterati homines eligebantur, qui et servare deposita et scirent singulis reddere rationem. For fuller details see Grenfell, Hunt, and Hogarth, "Fayoum Towns and Their Papyri," pp. 252 ff., where the accounts of two soldiers of about the year 180 are published.

(12) In the time of Polybius the Roman legionary received two obols per day.[1] Since Polybius reckoned a denarius equal to a drachma, two obols = ⅓ of a denarius or 3⅓ asses according to the old reckoning (1 denarius = 10 asses), which makes

(11) [1] Castrense peculium est, quod a parentibus vel cognatis in militia agenti donatum est vel quod ipse filius familias in militia adquisiit, quod nisi militaret, adquisiturus non fuisset. *Dig.* 49.17.11.

(12) [1] Pol. 6.39.12.

the pay of the foot soldiers 1200 asses for the year of 360 days. Pliny in his account[2] of the lowering of the copper standard in the Hannibalic war (217) says that the as became 1/16 of a denarius, but that this had no influence on the pay of the soldiers, for this was reckoned in asses, and they still received a denarius for each 10 (instead of 16) asses of their salary. Consequently after 217 the pay was still 120 denarii (1200 old asses) but expressed in terms of the new was 1920 asses per year or 5⅓ per day. Caesar[3] is said to have doubled the pay, but what he really did was to substitute for one *stipendium* per year of 1200 old asses, three *stipendia* of the same number of new asses, or 225 denarii instead of 120. From the above passage in Domitian it is clear that a stipendium was 3 aurei, 75 denarii, or 1200 asses. This is the annual stipend mentioned by Polybius, which remained unchanged until the time of Caesar. Caesar paid it every four months, and Domitian every three. Therefore the annual pay of the foot soldiers was as follows: under the republic 120, Caesar to Domitian 225, and after Domitian 300 denarii. Cf. Dio 67.3 quoted in note on *Dom.* 12.1.

(*12*) [2] Plin. *N. H.* 3.3.45.
[3] *Jul.* 26.

VIII. IUS(1) DILIGENTER ET INDUSTRIE DIXIT, PLERUMQUE ET IN FORO PRO TRIBUNALI EXTRA ORDINEM; AMBITIOSAS(2) CENTUMVIRORUM(3) SENTENTIAS RESCIDIT;

(1) *Iurisdictio* pertained to civil cases, *quaestio* to criminal ones. The former were attended to by the *praetor urbanus* and the *praetor peregrinus;* the latter, after the establishment of the *quaestiones perpetuae* in 149 B. C. by the praetors and ex-aediles in charge of those courts.[1] But the emperor in strict accordance with precedent in the case of dictators, triumvirs, and other extraordinary magistrates,[2] might exercise his authority in both civil and criminal cases either upon appeal or in the first instance.[3] The *princeps* was assisted by a *consilium* of jurists from the equestrian and senatorial orders, who received salaries ranging from 60,000 to 100,000 sesterces. The emperor presided, the *consiliarii* gave their opinions in writing, and the *princeps* rendered his decision.[4] Cf. Plin. *Epist.* 4.22; 6.22.

(2) That is, to gain favor with influential men or their advocates. (Rolfe on *Dom.* 8.1; cf. *Tib.* 33.)

(3) The *centumviri* were a permanent court of great antiquity. Originally three were chosen from each of the 30 tribes, and when the number of the tribes was increased to 35 there were 105 *centumviri.*[1] Augustus transferred the presidency of the court from the ex-quaestors to the *x viri stlitibus iudicandis.*[2] Later on the praetor summoned and presided over the court of the *centumviri*[3] and their number was increased to 180, sitting in three or four divisions in the *Basilica Julia.*[4] A list of the chief cases, the most important of which were those relating to inheritances, coming before the *centumviri*, is given by Cicero.[5] The place of their jurisdiction is denoted by the planting of

(1) [1] Abbott, §512.
[2] Momm., *St. R.*[3] 4.461.
[3] Abbott, §§411, 412.
[4] Abbott, §411; cf. *Jul.* 43, *Aug.* 33; Dio 52.33; *Cl.* 14, 23; Dio 71.6; *Nero* 15; Tac. *A.* 3.10; Plin. *Epist.* 4.22; 6.22.

(3) [1] Festus p. 47, Lindsay.
[2] *Aug.* 36; Dio 54.26.
[3] Plin. *Epist.* 5.9.
[4] Plin. *Epist.* 6.33; Quint. *Inst.* 12.5.6.
[5] Cic. *de Orat.* 1.173; cf. *Vesp.* 10.

RECIPERATORES,[(4)] NE SE PERFUSORIIS ASSERTIONIBUS ACCOMODARENT, IDENTIDEM ADMONUIT; NUMMARIOS IUDICES CUM SUO QUEMQUE CONSILIO NOTAVIT. AUCTOR ET TR(IBUNIS) PL(EBIS) FUIT AEDILEM SORDIDUM REPETUNDARUM ACCUSANDI IUDICESQUE IN EUM A SENATU PETENDI.[(5)] MAGISTRATIBUS QUOQUE URBI-

the *hasta* (the symbol of Quiritarian ownership) in the ground where the court was sitting.[6]

(4) In Festus 342 there is the following statement: Reciperatio est, ut ait Gallus Aelius, cum inter populum et reges nationesque et civitates peregrinas lex convenit, quomodo per reciperatores reddantur res reciperenturque, resque privatas inter se persequantur. Before the first *lex repetundarum* had been passed, the senate nominated *reciperatores* to hear requests from Spain for restitution of property plundered by governors (Liv. 43.2). Under the empire they sometimes decided cases of status (*Vesp.* 3; and in this passage).

(5) In criminal cases the senate might exceptionally, instead of judging the matter themselves, hand it over to judges chosen from amongst themselves (Herzog, *St. V.* 2.901. n. 3). Cf. Tac., *A.* 4.22, refert ad senatum datisque iudicibus . . . reus frustra temptato ferro venas praebuit exsolvendas.

(6) Cf. Stat. *Silv.* 5.1.79–80, qui cuncta suorum novit et nspectis ambit latus omne ministris.

Pliny (*Paneg.* 70) seems to be casting reflections on this meritorious act of Domitian in the following: O te dignum qui de magistratibus nostris semper haec nunties nec poenis malorum, sed bonorum praemiis bonas facias.

Gsell (141 n. 6) thinks with reason that the following verses of Silius Italicus (*Punica* 14.686) refer to Domitian's efforts to protect the provinces, and not to Nerva, as Teuffel-Schwabe[1] believe:

> at ni cura viri, qui nunc dedit otia mundo,
> effrenum arceret populandi cuncta furorem,
> nudassent avidae terras fretumque rapinae.

Moreover, although Pliny claims that deputations from the

3) [6] *Aug.* 36; Quint. *Inst.* 5.2.1.
,6) [1] *Gesch. d. röm. Lit.*, §320.3.

CIS PROVINCIARUMQUE PRAESIDIBUS COERCENDIS TANTUM CURAE(6) ADHIBUIT, UT NEQUE MODESTIORES(7) UMQUAM NEQUE IUSTIORES EXSTITERINT;(8) E QUIBUS PLEROSQUE POST ILLUM REOS OMNIUM CRIMINUM VIDIMUS.

SUSCEPTA CORRECTIONE MORUM(9) LICENTIAM THEATRALEM (10) PROMISCUE IN EQUITE SPECTANDI INHIBUIT; SCRIPTA FAMOSA VULGOQUE EDITA, QUIBUS PRIMORES

provinces had difficulty in obtaining a hearing before Domitian,[2] Philostratus represents the emperor as receiving ambassadors from the province of Asia.[3]

(7) *Modestia* is moderation and unselfishness on the part of a magistrate towards the provincials, in contrast to greed and extortion. Cf. *Tit.* 4, *nec minore modestiae fama.*

(8) Under Domitian progress was made in forming a carefully trained staff of imperial officials. An increase of the inefficient senatorial officers was no part of his system.[1] A *praefectus praetorio*, Cornelius Fuscus, was made commander-in-chief of the army in 85,[2] and a knight was *pro(curator) ab epistulis.*[3] Cf. Hirschfeld, *Verwaltungsb.* 479.

Dio 67.13. Ἔπραξε δέ τι καὶ ὡς τιμητὴς ἀξιόλογον. Καικίλιον γὰρ Ῥουφῖνον ἀπήλασεν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου, ὅτι ὠρχεῖτο.

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(9) Domitian had been made *censor perpetuus* in 85 by the Senate (Gsell 54 n. 6), and writers of his reign (Quint. *Inst.* 4 proem. 3; Stat. *Silv.* 4.3.14; 5.1.42; Mart. 1.4.7; 5.23.3; 6.4.191; 9.6.2, 28.7, 101.21) are loud in their praises of the emperor's efforts to improve the moral conditions of his subjects. But it was probably Domitian's desire to rule as an absolute monarch that prompted such an interest on his part in the private life of the inhabitants of his domains. For the political power which the censorship conferred upon the emperor, see Gsell, p. 54 ff.

(10) The auditorium of a Roman theatre exhibited an elab-

(6) [2] Plin. *Paneg.* 79.
[3] Phil. *Apol.* 6.4.2.

(8) [1] *Dom.* 7.2.
[2] *Dom.* 6.1.
[3] *CIL.* 6.798.

VIRI AC FEMINAE NOTABANTUR, ABOLEVIT NON SINE AUCTORUM IGNOMINIA; QUAESTORIUM VIRUM, QUOD GESTICULANDI SALTANDIQUE(11) STUDIO TENERETUR, MOVIT SENATU;(12) PROBROSIS FEMINIS LECTICAE USUM(13)

orate classification of the spectators according to sex, age, profession, and rank. The aediles of the year 194 B. C. were the first to separate the senators from the rest of the audience (Liv. 34.54). After the plan of the Roman theatre became similar to the Greek, the orchestra was assigned to the senators (*Aug.* 35.2; cf. Dio 53.25, 59.7). Distinguished foreigners and ambassadors were also allowed to sit here (Tac. *A.* 13.54; *Cl.* 25; cf. Dio 68.15). The next fourteen rows were occupied by the knights (Vell. 2.32; Cic. *Mur.* 19). Augustus further systematized the seating in the theatre by assigning the topmost rows of the *cavea* to the lowest classes and special sections, also in the upper rows, to women, to the soldiers, to married plebians, to *praetextati*, and to the *paedagogi* of the last class (*Aug.* 44; Ov. *Am.* 2.7.3; Prop. 5.8.77). The *tribunalia* over the entrances to the orchestra at the right and left of the stage corresponded to the royal box of a modern theatre. In one sat the emperor (Jos. *Ant.* 19.1.13) or the president of the performance (*Aug.* 44.3; Dio 55.30), in the other the Vestals (*Aug.* 44.3) and the empress (Tac. *A.* 4.16). By the time of Domitian the people had come to disregard these regulations to such an extent that this emperor had to enforce them by a new edict, which must have been published about 89, as it is frequently referred to in Martial's fifth book (Mart. 5.8, 14, 23, 25, 27, 35, 38 and 41).

(11) This measure was not tyrannical considering the Romans' disapproval of dancing by freemen at any time or in any place. Cicero (*Mur.* 6) says, "Nemo fere saltat sobrius, nisi forte insanit; neque in solitudine, neque in convivio moderato; tempestivi convivii, amoeni loci, multarum deliciarum comes est extrema saltatio"; and Sallust (Catil. 26), speaking of Sempronia, writes, "Psallere, saltare elegantius, quam necesse est probae."

(12) *Gesticulor* means "to accompany an action by appropriate motions of the body." Petronius (36; cf. Juv. 5.120–124) says, "Scissor et ad symphonium gesticulatus ita laceravit obsonium." One used *gesticulationes* to emphasize his remarks;

ADEMIT IUSQUE CAPIENDI(14) LEGATA HEREDITATESQUE; EQUITEM R. OB REDUCTUM IN MATRIMONIUM UXOREM, CUI DIMISSAE ADULTERII CRIMEN INTENDERAT, ERASIT IUDICIUM ALBO;(15) QUOSDAM EX UTROQUE ORDINE LEGE SCANTINIA(16) CONDEMNAVIT;

cf. *Tib.* 68.3, sermone eoque tardissimo, nec sine molli quadam digitorum gesticulatione. The gestures were important in dancing and singing; cf. Colum. *Praef.* 1.1, vocis et cantus modulatorem, nec minus corporis gesticulatorem, scrupulosissime requirant saltationis ac musicae rationis studiosi; also *Nero* 42.1, iocularia in defectionis duces carmina lascivique modulata, . . . etiam gesticulatus est. *Gesticulandi* above may mean the gestures accompanying singing or dancing, or pantomimic acting in which the gestures were the all-important thing.

(13) Cf. *Jul.* 43: lecticarum usum, . . . nisi certis personis et aetatibus perque certos dies ademit.

(14) For *capere* used in this sense, cf. Juv. 1.55; Cic. *de Leg.* 19.48; Quint. *Inst.* 3.6.96.

(15) Cf. *Cl.* 16, non modo albo iudicium erasit.

(16) A law of unknown date enacted for the suppression of unatural vice (Auson. p. 346, ed. Peiper) which was treated by the *lex Julia de adulteriis* merely as *stuprum* (*Dig.* 48.5.34).

Dio 67.3. πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν πρώτων ἀνδρῶν κατὰ πολλὰς προφάσεις φόνοις τε καὶ ὑπερορίαις ἐκπωδὼν ποιούμενος, οὐδὲ τῶν αειπαρθένων ἐφείσατο, ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ ἠνδρωμένας ἐτιμωρήσατο. ὅτε καὶ λέγεται, σκληρᾶς καὶ τραχείας τῆς περὶ αὐτὰς ἐξετάσεως γενομένης, καὶ πολλῶν αἰτιαθέντων καὶ κολαζομένων, οὐκ ἐνεγκὼν εἷς τῶν ποντιφίκων Ἑλουΐος Ἀγρίππας, ἀλλ' ἐκπλαγεὶς αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ ὥσπερ εἶχεν, ἀποψύζαι. αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἠγάλλετο, ὅτι τὰς ἀειπαρθένους ὡς ἠνδρωμένας οὐ κατώρυξεν, ὡς ἦν ἔθος, 'αλλὰ ἄλλως ἀποθνήσκειν ἐκέλευσε.

Phil. *Apol.* 7.6. καὶ μὴν καὶ λόγου ἀφικομένου, ὡς λαμπρὰν κάθαρσιν εἴη Δομετιανὸς πεποιημένος τῆς Ῥωμαίων Ἑστίας ἐπειδὴ τρεῖς τῶν Ἑστιάδων ἀπέκτεινεν ἐπ', αἰτίᾳ τῆς ζώνης καὶ τῷ μὴ καθαρεῦσαι γάμων ἃς ἁγνῶς τὴν Ἰλιάδα Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ τὸ ἐκεῖ πῦρ θεραπεύειν ἔδει "εἰ γὰρ καὶ σύ," ἔφη "καθαρθείης Ἥλιε τῶν ἀδίκων φόνων, ὧν πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη μεστὴ νῦν."

Euseb. *a. Abr.* (Latin translation of Versio Armenia) 2098 (Oct. 1, 81–Sept. 30, 82). Hestiae III virgines consecratae, (quum) in strupro deprehensae (fuerint), poenas dedere.

Hier. *a. Abr.* 2099 (Oct. 1, 82–Sept. 30, 83). Tres virgines vestae ob stuprum damnatae.

Euseb. *a. Abr.* (Latin translation of Versio Armenia) 2106 (Oct. 1, 89–Sept. 30, 90). Principalis e virginibus Hestiae Cornelia corruptelae accusata iuxta legem viva defossa est.

Hier. *a. Abr.* 2107 (Oct. 1, 90–Sept. 30, 91). Maxima virginum Vestalium Cornelia convicta stupri iuxta legem viva defossa est.

Plin. *Epist.* 4.11. Audistine Valerium Licinianum (the *praetorius vir* mentioned above by Suetonius) in Sicilia profitieri? . . . Dices tristia et miseranda, dignum tamen illum, qui haec ipsa studia incesti scelere macularit. Confessus est quidem incestum, sed incertum utrum quia verum erat, an quia graviora metuebat, si negasset. Fremebat enim Domitianus aestuabatque in ingenti invidia destitutus. Nam cum Corneliam, Vestalium maximam, defodere vivam concupisset, ut qui illustrari saeculum suum eius modi exemplis arbitraretur, pontificis maximi iure seu potius immanitate tyranni, licentia domini, reliquos pontifices non in Regiam sed in Albanam villam convocavit. Nec minore scelere quam quod ulcisci videbatur absentem inauditamque damnavit incesti. . . .

Missi statim pontifices qui defodiendam necandamque curarent. Illa nunc ad Vestam, nunc ad ceteros deos manus tendens, multa; sed hoc frequentissime clamitabat, "me Caesar incestam putat, qua sacra faciente vicit, triumphavit?" blandiens haec an irridens, ex fiducia sui an ex contemptu principis dixerit dubium est: dixit, donec ad supplicium, nescio an innocens, certe tanquam innocens, ducta est. Praeterea Celer, eques Romanus, cui Cornelia obiciebatur, cum in comitio virgis caederetur, in hac voce perstiterat, "quid feci? nihil feci."

Ardebat ergo Domitianus et crudelitatis et iniquitatis infamia! arripit Licinianum quod in agris suis occultasset Corneliae libertam. ille ab iis quibus erat curae praemonetur, si comitium et virgas pati nollet, ad confessionem confugeret, quasi ad veniam: fecit. locutus est pro absente Herennius Senecio tale quiddam quale est illud. κεῖται Πάτροκλος. Ait enim "ex advocato nuntius factus sum: recessit Licinianus." Gratum hoc Domitiano, adeo quidem ut gaudio proderetur, diceretque "absolvit nos Licinianus." adiecit etiam non esse

INCESTA VESTALIUM VIRGINUM, A PATRE QUOQUE SUO ET FRATRE NEGLECTA, VARIE AC SEVERE COERCUIT PRIORA(17) CAPITALI SUPPLICIO, POSTERIORA(18) MORE VETERI. NAM CUM OCULATIS SORORIBUS, ITEM VARRONILLAE LIBERUM MORTIS PERMISISSET ARBITRIUM CORRUPTORESQUE EARUM RELEGASSET,(19) MOX CORNELIAM MAXIMAM VIRGINEM ABSOLUTAM OLIM, DEIN LONGO INTERVALLO REPETITAM ATQUE CONVICTAM DE-

verecundiae eius instandum: ipsi vero permisit, siqua posset, ex rebus suis raperet, ante quam bona publicarentur, exsiliumque molle velut praemium dedit.

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(17) It is impossible to tell whether Eusebius or Hieronymus is correct in the date. Dio mentions the punishment of the three Vestals before the German expedition, which occurred in 83 (Dio 67.3; cf. on *Dom.* 6.1).

(18) In the Armenian version of Eusebius the execution of Cornelia is mentioned before the double triumph of Domitian; in Hieronymus after it. This triumph occurred near November, 89 (see on *Dom.* 6.1). Toward the close of 89 Statius (*Silv.* 1.1.33–36) wrote:

. . . . prospectare videris

. . . .

. . . an tacita vigilet face Troicus ignis
atque exploratas iam laudet Vesta ministras.

These lines may refer to the recent punishment of Cornelia, in which case she must have been executed before 90, or merely to the death of the three Vestals first mentioned. It is also impossible to determine to which of Domitian's triumphs Cornelia herself refers in the letter of Pliny quoted above.

(19) *Relegatio* did not necessarily imply the loss of civil or personal rights, but entailed residence for a specified time or indefinitely, outside a specified place or region, or within a specified place or region. By *deportatio*, which finally took the place of the former *interdictio aquae et ignis* (*Dig.* 48.19.2.1) the culprit lost all civil and personal rights, and was carried to some specified place, usually a small island, where he lived under surveillance (*Dig.* 48.19.4).

FODI IMPERAVIT STUPRATORESQUE VIRGIS IN COMITIO AD NECEM CAEDI, EXCEPTO PRAETORIO VIRO, CUI, DUBIA ETIAM TUM CAUSA ET INCERTIS QUAESTIONIBUS ATQUE TORMENTIS DE SEMET PROFESSO, EXILIUM INDULSIT. AC NE QUA RELIGIO DEUM IMPUNE CONTAMINARETUR, MONIMENTUM, QUOD LIBERTUS EIUS E LAPIDIBUS TEMPLO CAPITOLINI IOVIS DESTINATIS FILIO EXTRUXERAT, DIRUIT PER MILITES OSSAQUE ET RELIQUIAS QUAE INERANT MARI MERSIT.[(20)]

(20) When the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was being restored under Vespasian, the haruspices forbade the use of some stone which had been destined for some other purpose.[1] For the temple see note on *Dom.* 5. Although Domitian was striving to preserve the dignity and purity of the state religion, he allowed a *flamen dialis*, contrary to custom, to divorce his wife.[2]

(20) [1] Tac. *H.* 4.53.
[2] Plut. *Quaest. R.* 50.

IX. INTER INITIA USQUE ADEO AB OMNI CAEDE ABHORREBAT, UT ABSENTE ADHUC PATRE RECORDATUS VERGILII VERSUM (*Georg.* 2.538):
"IMPIA QUAM CAESIS GENS EST EPULATA IUVENCIS" EDICERE DESTINARIT, NE BOVES IMMOLARENTUR. CUPIDITATIS QUOQUE ATQUE AVARITIAE VIX SUSPICIONEM ULLAM AUT PRIVATUS UMQUAM AUT PRINCEPS ALIQUAMDIU DEDIT, IMMO E DIVERSO MAGNA SAEPE NON ABSTINENTIAE MODO SED ETIAM LIBERALITATIS EXPERIMENTA.(1) OMNIS CIRCA SE LARGISSIME PROSECUTUS NIHIL PRIUS AUT ACRIUS MONUIT QUAM NE QUID SORDIDE(2) FACERENT. RELICTAS SIBI HEREDITATES AB IIS, QUIBUS LIBERI ERANT, NON RECEPIT.
LEGATUM ETIAM EX TESTAMENTO RUSTI CAEPIONIS,(3)

Eutr. 7.23.1. Primis tamen annis moderatus in imperio fuit, mox ad ingentia vitia progressus libidinis, iracundiae, crudelitatis, avaritiae tantum in se odii concitavit, ut merita et patris et fratris aboleret. Cf. *Dom.* 3.

Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 11.3. primo clementiam simulans (*item* Ps. Aur. Vict. *Epit.* 11.2).

Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 11.1. Domitianus . . . praedas, caedem, supplicia, agere occepit.

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(1) Cf. *Vesp.* 1.1: constet licet Domitianum cupiditatis ac saevitiae merito poenas luisse; and *Dom.* 3.2. *Cupiditas* is opposed to *abstinentia* and *avaritia* to *liberalitas*. Cf. *Jul.* 54, Abstinentiam neque in imperiis neque in magistratibus praestitit; *Cal.* 44, Ceterorum increpita cupiditate commoda emeritae militiae ad sescentorum milium summam recidit; *Cal.* 39, modo avaritiae singulos increpans et quod non puderet eos locupletiores esse quam se; *Nero* 10.1, neque liberalitatis . . . exhibendae ullam occasionem omisit.

(2) *sordide*= stingily. Cf. *Vesp.* 19.1, et tamen ne sic quidem pristina cupiditatis infamia caruit. Alexandri Cybiosacten eum vocare perseveraverunt, cognomine unius e regibus suis turpissimarum sordium.

(3) Mentioned only here. Rusti, ȝ (Torrentius, Burman); rusci Ω.

QUI CAVERAT UT QUOTANNIS INGREDIENTIBUS CURIAM SENATORIBUS CERTAM SUMMAM VIRITIM PRAESTARET HERES SUUS, IRRITUM FECIT.(4) **REOS, QUI ANTE QUINQUENNIUM PROXIMUM APUD AERARIUM PEPENDISSENT, UNIVERSOS DISCRIMINE LIBERAVIT**(5) **NEC REPETI NISI INTRA ANNUM EAQUE CONDICIONE PERMISIT, UT ACCUSATORI QUI CAUSAM NON TENERET EXILIUM POENA ESSET.**

Dio 67.1. οὕτω γὰρ ἄπιστος καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοὺς χαριζομένους τι, ἔς τε τὰ δεινότατα ὑπηρετοῦντας αὐτῷ ἐγένετο ὥσθ' ὁπότε τινὲς ἢ χρήματα αὐτῷ πολλὰ πορίσειαν ἢ ἀνθρώπους πολλοὺς συκοφαντήσειαν, πάντως αὐτοὺς ἔφθειρε, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς δούλους τοὺς κατὰ δεσποτῶν τι μηνύσαντας. καὶ οὕτω κὰι ἐκεῖνοι, καίπερ ἀργύριον, καὶ τιμὰς καὶ ἀρχὰς ὁμοῦ οἱ λαμβάνοντες, οὔτ' ἐντιμότερον τῶν ἑτέρων οὔτ' ἀσφαλέστερον διῆγον, 'αλλ' ἐπ' αὐτοῖς οἷς ὑπὸ τοῦ Δομιτιανοῦ παρακαλούμενοι ἔπραττον 'απώλλυντο, ἵνα δὴ καὶ τὰ ἀδικήματα ὑπ' αὐτῶν μόνων γεγονέναι δοχῇ. τῇ δ'αὐτῇ ταύτῃ διανοίᾳ καὶ προέγραψέ ποτε ὅτι αὐτοκράτωρ ὅταν μὴ κολάζῃ τοὺς συκοφάντας αὐτός σφᾶς ποιεῖ τοιούτους. Cf. Jos. *Vit.* 76.

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(4) Inasmuch as this practice was common in the *municipia*, Domitian probably thought it ill befitted the dignity of the Roman Senate (Momm., *St. R.*[3] 2.895, n. 1).

(5) Cf. *Aug.* 32.2: Tabulas veterum aerari debitorum, vel praecipuam calumniandi materiam, exussit. Pliny (*Epist.* 4.9.1) uses *pendere* in this same sense: ad senatum remissus diu pependit, tandem absolutus vindicatusque. Cf. *Cl.* 9.2, venalis pependent sub edicto praefectorum. It is not known whether Domitian restored to the *aerarium* the amount it lost by this procedure. Augustus on one occasion paid into the *aerarium* from his own resources the taxes due it from the province of Asia.[1]

Under the republic and nominally under the empire the *aerarium* or public treasury was controlled by the senate, but even as early as Tiberius, Tacitus[2] says, it made no difference whether money was paid to the *aerarium* or to the *fiscus*. From 56 A. D. it was supervised by praetorian *praefecti aerarii Saturni* appointed by the emperor.[3] By the time of Marcus Aurelius there was no difference between the *aerarium* and the *fiscus*.[4]

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(5) [1] Dio 54.30.
[2] *A.* 6.2, tamquam referret.
[3] Tac. *A.* 13.29.
[4] Dio 71.33.

SCRIBAS QUAESTORIOS NEGOTIANTIS EX CONSUETUDINE SED CONTRA CLODIAM LEGEM(6) VENIA IN PRAETERITUM DONAVIT. SUBSICIVA,(7) QUAE DIVISIS PER VETERANOS AGRIS CARPTIM SUPERFUERUNT, VETERIBUS POSSESSORIBUS UT USU CAPTA CONCESSIT. FISCALES CALUM-

Hyg. *Grom.* p. 133. (Lachmann): Domitianus per totam Italiam subsiciva possidentibus donavit, edictoque hoc notum universis fecit. Cf. Sic. Flacc. *Grom.* p. 163 (Lachmann).

Frontin. *Grom.* p. 54 (Lachmann). Praestantissimus postua Domitianus ad hoc beneficium procurrit et uno edicto totiesl Italiae metum liberavit.

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(6) Nothing is known of this law. Livy (21.63.3–4) mentions a law of Q. Claudius of the year 218 B. C. which forbade senators to engage in business, and that law may have had a chapter referring to the *scribae quaestorii* and other civil servants (Rolfe on *Dom.* 9.3). C. Flaminius was the only senator who supported this *lex Claudia* of 218 B. C., and thereby brought upon himself the hatred and opposition of the whole senatorial party (Liv. 21.63.3 ff.).

(7) At the foundation of a colony the *agrimensores* divided the territory into strictly rectangular lots (*centuriae*). No irregular piece of land could be entirely disposed of in regular rectangles, and the irregular lots between the *centuriae* were called *subsiciva*.[1] Any of the regular *centuriae* left over after distribution were *subsiciva*.[2] In the case of military colonies the *subsiciva* belonged to the emperor, but they were often occupied by the owners of the neighboring plots, and no notice was taken by the prince,[3] but they nevertheless continued to belong to him. When Vespasian found himself in financial straits he revived his claims to these lands,[4] and Titus followed his example (Frontin. *l. c.*). Although this was strictly legal, it was nevertheless frequently unjust to persons who had inherited, purchased, or held the *subsiciva* for a long time. Do-

(7) [1] Frontin., p. 6, Lachmann.
[2] Frontin., *l. c.*; *Grom.* p. 134, Lachmann.
[3] Frontin., *Grom.* p. 53, Lachmann.
[4] Frontin., *Grom.* p. 54, Lachmann.

NIAS[8] MAGNA CALUMNIANTIUM POENA REPRESSIT,[9] FEREBATURQUE VOX EIUS: "PRINCEPS QUI DELATORES[10] NON CASTIGAT, IRRITAT."

mitian dealt more fairly, and besides the general decree mentioned above, there is also extant his decision in the particular case of the Firmians vs. the Falerians (*CIL.* 9.5420).

(8) i. e. accusations by virtue of which the property of the accused would fall to the *fiscus* or emperor's treasury.

(9) In this regard he was following the example of Titus (*Tit.* 8; Plin. *Paneg.* 35; Dio 66.19; Mart. *Epigr.* 4b, Friedlaender.)

(10) As stated above, Domitian did not at first encourage *delatores* (Dio 67.1; Jos. *Ant.* 76); but during the latter part of his reign no one was safe from their unjust and interested accusations (Tac. *Agr.* 2; *H.* 1.2; Philos. *Apol.* 7.8; Juv. 1.33; 9.102). However Domitian did not wish the *delatores* to be considered his accomplices and not even those who had served their master most assiduously and had most enjoyed his favor were safe (Dio 67.1; cf. Juv. 4.113). The *delatores* were also afraid of being denounced by one of their own profession (Juv. 1.35).

X. SED NEQUE IN CLEMENTIAE NEQUE IN ABSTINENTIAE TENORE PERMANSIT, ET TAMEN ALIQUANTO CELERIUS AD SAEVITIAM DESCIVIT QUAM AD CUPIDITATEM. DISCIPULUM PARIDIS(1) PANTOMIMI (IM)PUBEREM(2) ADHUC ET CUM MAXIME AEGRUM, QUOD ARTE FORMAQUE NON ABSIMILIS MAGISTRO VIDEBATUR, OCCIDIT; ITEM HERMOGENEM TARSENSEM(3) PROPTER QUASDAM IN HISTORIA FIGURAS,(4) LIBRARIIS ETIAM, QUI EAM DESCRIPSERANT, CRUCIFIXIS. PATREM FAMILIAS, QUOD THRAECEM MURMILLONI(5) PAREM, MUNERARIO (6)IM-

Plin. *Paneg.* 33. Iam quam libera spectantium studia, quam securus favor! Nemini impietas, ut solebat, obiecta, quod odisset gladiatorem; nemo e spectatore spectaculum factus, miserias voluptates unco et ignibus expiavit. Demens ille, verique honoris ignarus, qui crimina maiestatis in arena colligebat ac se despici et contemni, nisi etiam gladiatores eius veneraremur, sibi male dici in illis, suam divinitatem, suum numen violari interpretabatur, cumque se idem quod deos, idem gladiatores quod se putabat.

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(1) See note on *Dom.* 3.1.

(2) *impuberem.* Basle ed. of 1533; *puberem* Ω.

(3) Mentioned only here; not to be confused with Hermogenes Rhetor.

(4) Cf. Quint. *Inst.* 9.2.66: eius (i. e. figurae) triplex usus est, unus, si dicere palam parum tutum est; alter, si non decet; tertius, qui venustatis modo gratia adhibetur, et ipsa novitate ac varietate magis, quam si relatio sit recta, delectat. Cf. *Vesp.* 13: Amicorum libertatem, causidicorum figuras ac philosophorum contumaciam lenissime tulit.

(5) The *murmillones* were so called from an ornament shaped like a fish, *mormyr*, on their helmets. They were heavy armed like the Samnites or *hoplomachi*, and were also called *scutarii* from the *scutum*, the most characteristic part of their armor. The Thracians had much the same equipment, their mark of distinction being the small shield, *parma*, in place of the *scutum*. In contradistinction to the *scutarii* they were called *parmularii*.[1]

(5) [1] Marqd. *St. V.*[2] 3.540 ff.

PAREM DIXERAT, DETRACTUM SPECTACULIS IN HARENAM CANIBUS OBIECIT(7) CUM HOC TITULO: "IMPIE(8) LOCUTUS PARMULARIUS."(9)

Titus had favored the *parmularii*[2] and Domitian may have been opposed to them on this account.[3]

(6) The giver of the games, who in this case was Domitian. Augustus is said to have been the first to use the word *munerarius*.[1] The remark implied unfairness on the part of the emperor, who favored the *murmillones*.[2]

(7) For the phraseology cf. *Cal.* 35.2, hunc spectaculis detractum repente et in harenam deductum.

(8) Cf. *Vit.* 3, pietatis immobilis erga principem; Tac. *A.* 6.47, Albucilla . . . defertur impietatis in principem.

(9) There is an added insult in *parmularius* as applied to a Roman citizen and pater familias (Rolfe on *Dom.* 10.1).

Dio 67.3. ὅτι καὶ συχνοὺς μεθιστάς που κατεχρήσατο καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγους γε αὐτοὺς ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν παρεσκεύαζε τρόπον τινὰ ἀποθνήσκειν, ἵνα ἐθελοντηδὸν ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπ' ἀνάγκης δοκῶσι τοῦτο πάσχειν.

Phil. *Apol.* 7.4. ὅθεν ἠκρωτηριάσθη μὲν ἡ βουλὴ τοὺς εὐδοκιμωτάτους.

Tac. *Agr.* 3. Quid? si per quindecim annos . . . multi fortuitis casibus, promptissimus quisque saevitia principis interdicerunt,

Hier. *a. Abr.* 2099 (Oct. 1, 82–Sept. 30, 83). Plurimos senaitorum Domicianus in exilium mittit.

CIL. 6.2065: (87 A. D.). in ca(p)itolio ob detecta scelera nefariorum.

Hieron. *a. Abr.* 2105 (Oct. 1, 88–Sept. 30, 89). Domicianus plurimos nobilium in exilium mittit atque occidit.

Hieron. *a. Abr.* 2109 (Oct. 1, 92–Sept. 30, 93). Domicianus multos nobilium perdidit, quosdam vero et in exilium misit.

Eutr. 7.23.2. Interfecit nobilissimos e senatu.

Oros. 7.10.2. Nobilissimos e senatu, invidiae simul et praedae causa, alios palam interfecit, alios in exilium trusit, ibique trucidari imperavit. See also Plin. *Paneg.* 35, 48, 52, 62, 63, 90, 94, 95.

(5) [2] *Tit.* 8.2.
[3] See note on *Dom.* 2.3.

(6) [1] Quint. *Inst.* 8.3.34.
[2] Mart. 9.68.8.

COMPLURES SENATORES, IN IIS ALIQUOT CONSULARES, INTEREMIT; EX QUIBUS CIVICAM CEREALEM(10) IN IPSO ASIAE PROCONSULATU, SALVIDIENUM ORFITUM,(11) ACILIUM GLABRIONEM(12) (IN)(13) EXILIO, QUASI MOLITORES

(10) C. Vettulenus Civica Cerialis was *legatus pro pr. provinciae Moesiae* in 82.[1] Cerialis had been killed shortly before it was Agricola's turn to draw lots for the provinces of Asia and Africa.[2] Agricola was consul in 77. The murder of Cerialis therefore probably occurred in 87,[3] thus making Agricola proconsul eleven or twelve years after he had been consul, which time was the common interval between the two offices toward the close of the first century.[4]

(11) He was first banished to an island.[1] Some supposed him to have been a Christian on the ground of the charge of indolence brought against him by Philostratus.[2] Although this was a common complaint against the adherents of the early church,[3] a sluggish disposition would not in itself prove its possessor a Christian.

(12) M. Acilius Glabrio was consul in 91 with Trajan.[1] In his consulship he had to fight wild beasts in the arena at Domitian's Alban villa.[2] He was exiled and put to death in 95. Dio (67.14; cf. 67.12) says: "The complaint brought against him was that of atheism, under which many others who had drifted into Jewish ways were condemned." Sepuchral inscriptions of Acilii who were Christians in the second century have been found in the cemetery of Domitilla and among them that of an Acilius Glabrio, so that it is highly probable that this consular contemporary of Domitian may have been a Christian.[3]

(13) *in* added by Torrentius.

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(10) [1] *CIL.* 3.8, p. 1960.14.
[2] Tac. *Agr.* 42.
[3] Cf. *CIL.* 6.2065, quoted above.
[4] Marqd. *St. V.*[2] 1.546.

(11) [1] Philos. *Apol.* 7.8.
[2] Philos. *Apol.* 8.7.10.
[3] Gsell 302 n. 2.

(12) [1] *Fast. Cons.* p. 71, Liebenam.
[2] Juv. 4.95–103; Dio 67.14.
[3] Gsell 294 f.

RERUM NOVARUM,(14) CETEROS LEVISSIMA QUEMQUE DE CAUSA.

AELIUM LAMIAM(15) OB SUSPICIOSOS QUIDEM, VERUM ET VETERES ET INNOXIOS IOCOS, QUOD POST ABDUCTAM(16) UXOREM LAUDANTI VOCEM SUAM "EUTACTO"(17) DIXERAT QUODQUE TITO HORTANTI SE AD ALTERUM MATRIMONIUM RESPONDERAT: μὴ καὶ σὺ γαμῆσαι θέλ<ε>ις; **SALVIUM COCCEIANUM,(18) QUOD OTHONIS IMPERATORIS PATRUI SUI DIEM NATALEM CELEBRAVERAT;**

(14) There appear to have been four distinct revolutionary attempts under Domitian—in 83, 87, 88 (revolt of Antonius, *Dom.* 6) and 93, judging from the dates[1] given by Hieronymus for special periods of severity on the part of the prince, and from *CIL.* 6.2065. This harshness of the government may be regarded as both the cause and the effect of the revolts. Tacitus[2] writes that whereas up to the time of Agricola's death (*Aug.* 23, 93) Domitian's executions had been intermittent, after that date a real reign of terror set in.[3]

(15) L. Aelius Plautius Lamia Aelianus, consul suffectus in 80 (*Fast. Cons.* p. 16, Liebenam). Domitian married his wife Domitia Longina in 70 (*Dom.* 1.3; Dio 66.3). On his death cf. Juv. 4.154.

(16) abductam, Tς: adductam Ω.

(17) *Eutacto* is a transliteration of εὐτακτῷ and in the connection in which it is used in the text means that Alius had observed strict abstinence since the abduction of his wife; abstinence was imposed upon actors for the benefit of their voice (cf. Mart. 7.82.1; 14.215; Juv. 6.73).

(18) L. Salvius Otho Cocceianus: a. 63 coaptatus in collegium aliquod socerdotale (*CIL.* 6.2002). Plutarch (*Otho* 16) relates the following as having taken place on the last day of Otho's life: Προσαγόμενος δὲ τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν, Κοκκήϊον, ἔτι μειράκιον ὄντα, θαῤῥεῖν παρεκάλει, καὶ μὴ δεδιέναι Οὐϊτέλλιον, οὗ καὶ μητέρα καὶ γενεὰν καὶ γυναῖκα αὐτὸς, ὥσπερ οἰκείων κηδόμενος, διαφυλάξαι. Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ οὐδὲ θέσθαι παῖδα βουλόμενον αὐτὸν, ἄλλ' ἀναβαλέσθαι μνημονεύειν, ὅτι Καῖσαρ ἄθεταῖ τὴν εἰσποίησιν, ὅπως συνάρχοι, κρατήσαντος αὐτοῦ,

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(14) [1] Hieron. *a. Abr.* 2099, 2105 and 2109.
[2] *Agr.* 44 *ad fin.*
[3] Cf. Juv. 4.150 ff.

METTIUM POMPUSIANUM,(19) QUOD HABERE IMPERATORIAM GENESIM(20) VULGO FEREBATUR ET QUOD DEPICTUM ORBEM TERRAE IN MEMBRANA(S)(21) CONTIONESQUE

μὴ προαπόλοιτο πταίσαντος. Ἐκεῖνο δ', εἶπεν, ὦ παῖ, παρεγγυῶμαί σοι τελευταῖον, μήτ' ἐπιλαθέσθαι ποντάπασι, μήτ' ἄγαν μνημονεύειν, ὅτι Καίσαρα θεῖον ἔσχες.

Cf. Tac. *H.* 2.48 and *Otho* 10.

Dio 67.12. ἐν δὲ τοῖς τότε τελευτήσασι πολλοῖς οὖσι καὶ Μέτιος Πομπουσιανὸς ἐγένετο, ὃν ὁ μὲν Οὐεσπασιανὸς μαθὼν ἐκ φήμης τινὸς ὅτι μοναρχήσει, οὐδὲν κακὸν εἰργάσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐτίμα, λέγων ὅτι "Πάντως μου μνημονεύσει καὶ πάντως με ἀντιτιμήσει" ἐκεῖνος δέ, πρότερον μὲν ἐς Κύρνον ἐξώρισε, τότε δὲ καὶ ἐφόνευσεν, ἐγκληθέντα ἄλλα τε καὶ ὅτι τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν τοῖς τοῦ κοιτῶνος τοίχοις εἶχεν ἐγγεγραμμένην, καὶ τὰς δημηγορίας τὰς τῶν βασιλέων τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν τῶν πρώτων τὰς παρὰ τῷ Λιβίῳ γεγραμμένας, ἐξειλόχει τε καὶ ἀνεγίνωσκε. Cf. *Vesp.* 14.

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(19) L. Pomponius Mettius was *praefectus aerarii* Saturni 76–80,[1] and was made consul by Vespasian.[2] He was banished to Corsica,[3] and then put to death by Domitian. Cf. *Dom.* 20: Pompusianum, Roth (cf. *Vesp.* 14) Pomposionum Ω.

(20) The star that is rising at one's birth, from which his future life can be foretold. Cf. Juv. 6.578,

si prurit frictus ocelli
Angulus, inspecta genesi collyria poscit;

Juv. 14.248, Nota mathematicis genesis tua.

(21) Since Pompusianus carried the *membranae* around with him, they must have been of limited extent, and may have derive their value or charm from the fact that a great deal was written in a very small space. Cf. Plin. *N. H.* 7.85: In nuce inclusam Iliada Homeri carmen in membrana scriptum tradit Cicero. Concerning *membrana* Quintilian (*Inst.* 10.3.31) says: Illa quoque minora (sed nihil in studiis parvum est) non sunt transeunda, scribi optime ceris, in quibus facillima est ratio delendi: nisi forte visus infirmior membranarum potius usum exiget: quae ut iuvant aciem, ita crebra relatione, quoad intinguntur calami morantur manum, et cogitationis impetum frangunt.

membrana, Scriverius; *membranis*, ς; *membranas* Ω.

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(19) [1] *CIL.* 6.1495.
[2] *Vesp.* 14; Ps. Aur. Vict. *Epit.* 9.14.
[3] Dio 67.12.

REGUM AC DUCUM EX TITO LIVIO CIRCUMFERRET QUODQUE SERVIS(22) NOMINA MAGONIS ET HANNIBALIS INDIDISSET; SALLUSTIUM LUCULLUM(23) BRITANNIAE LEGATUM, QUOD LANCEAS(24) NOVAE FORMAE APPELLARI LUCULLEAS PASSUS ESSET;
IUNIUM RUSTICUM,(25) QUOD PAETI THRASEAE(26) ET(27)

Tac. *Agr.* 2. Legimus, cum Aruleno Rustico Paetus Thrasea, Herennio Senecioni Priscus Helvidius laudati essent, capitale fuisse.

Euseb. (Versio Armenia) *a. Abr.* 2109 (Oct. 1, 92–Sept. 30, 93). Domitianus rursum mathematicos (discentes) et philosophos Romanorum eiecit.

Hieron. *a. Abr.* 2111 (Oct. 1, 94–Sept. 30, 95). Domicianus rursum filosofos et mathematicas Roma per edictum extrudit.

Tac. *Agr.* 2. expulsis insuper sapientiae professoribus atque omni bona arte in exilium acta, ne quid usquam honestum occurreret.

Philos. *Apol.* 7.8 *ad fin.* ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤκουσεν, ὅτι φεύγοιεν ὁρμῆς μὲν ἐνδειξάμενοί τι ἐπὶ τὸν τύραννον, ὄκνῳ δ' ἐκπεσόντες ὧν διενοήθησαν.

Gell. 15.11.3. Neque illis solum temporibus nimis rudibus necdum Graeca disciplina expolitis philosophi ex urbe Roma pulsi sunt, verum etiam Domitiano imperante senatus consulto eiecti atque urbe et Italia interdicti sunt. Qua tempestate Epictetus quoque philosophus propter id senatus consultum Nicopolim Roma decessit.

Dio 67.13. τὸν γὰρ δὴ 'Ρούστικον τὸν 'Αρουλῖνον ἀπέκτεινεν ὅτι ἐφιλοσόφει καὶ ὅτι τὸν Ορασέαν ἱερὸν ὠνόμαζε, καὶ 'Ερεννιον Σενεκίωνα, ὅτι τε οὐδεμίαν ἀρχὴν ἐν πολλῷ βίῳ μετὰ τὴν ταμείαν ητήκει, καὶ ὅτι τοῦ Πρίσκου τοῦ 'Ελουϊδίου τὸν βίον συνέγραψεν. ἄλλοι τε ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης τῆς κατὰ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν αἰτίας συχνοὶ διώλοντο. καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες ἐξηλάθησαν αὖθις ἐκ τῆς 'Ρώμης.

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(22) A like charge was made against Torquatus Silanus in the time of Nero: quin eum inter libertos habere quos ab epistulis et libellis et rationibus appellet, nomina summae curae te meditamenta (Tac. *A.* 15.35).

(23) Not elsewhere mentioned. The inscription *Eph. E.* 7.1185 relating to him is false.

(24) Lancea a Graeco dicta, quam illi λόχην vocant (Fest. p. 105, Lindsay).

HELVIDI PRISCI(28) LAUDES EDIDISSET APPELLASSETQUE

(25) Junius Arulenus Rusticus was tribune in 66,[1] praetor in 69.[2] and *consul. suff. ex K. Sept.* in 92,[3] although this last is very uncertain. Pliny and Tacitus highly praise him,[4] and he was perhaps at one time on intimate terms with Domitian.[5] He may have been connected by marriage with the Helvidii, since Fannia was related to Junia, one of the Vestals.[6] As tribune he wished to use his power of *intercessio* to oppose the *senatus consultum* against his friend Thrasea, but the latter dissuaded him on the ground that it was both useless and dangerous.[7]

(26) P. Clodius Thrasea Paetus was the most noted of a group of ardent stoics of the first century. He was the son-in-law of Caecina Paetus and the elder Arria,[1] husband of the younger Arria and father of Fannia,[2] and father-in-law of Helvidius Priscus.[3] His continued opposition[4] to Nero finally ended in his condemnation in 66.[5]

(27) Macé (*Suetone*, p. 413) would insert *Herennium Senecionem quod* before *Helvidii.*

(28) Helvidius Priscus, son-in-law of Thrasea, and like him a stoic and enemy of the monarchy, was banished from Italy at the time of the latter's condemnation.[1] His uncalled-for hostility to Vespasian brought upon him a second banishment,[2] and final execution against the will of that emperor.[3] His biography was written by Herennius Senecio at the request of his wife Fannia.[4]

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(25) [1] Tac. *A*. 16.26.
[2] Tac. *H*. 3.80.
[3] Fast. Cons. p. 17, Liebenam.
[4] Plin. *Epist*. 1.14.1; 2.18.4; Tac. *H*. l. c.
[5] Plut. *de Curiositate* 15.
[6] Plin. *Epist*. 7.19.1.
[7] Tac. *A*. 16.26.

(26) [1] Plin. *Epist*. 3.16.10.
[2] Plin. *Epist*. 7.19.3; Tac. *A*. 16.34.
[3] Plin. *Epist*. 7.19.3; Tac. *A*. 16.28, 35; *H*. 4.5, 4.6.
[4] Tac. *A*. 16.21; 13.49; 14.12; 48–49; 15.23.
[5] Tac. *A*. 16.21–35, *H*. 4.8; Dio 62.26; *Nero* 37; Schol. ad. Iuven. 5.36.

(28) [1] Tac. *A*. 16.28–35, *H*. 4.6.
[2] *Vesp*. 15; Dio 66.12; Plin. *Epist*. 7.19.5.
[3] *Vesp*. l. c.
[4] Plin. *Epist*. 7.19.5; Tac. *Agr*. 2; Dio 67.13.

EOS SANCTISSIMOS VIROS;(29) CUIUS CRIMINIS OCCASIONE PHILOSOPHOS OMNIS URBE ITALIAQUE SUMMOVIT.(30) OCCIDIT ET HELVIDIUM FILIUM,(31) QUASI(32) SCAENICO EXODIO(33) SUB PERSONA PARIDIS ET OENOMES DIVOR-

(29) Suetonius may be wrong, for both Dio (67.13) and Tacitus (Tac. *Agr.* 2) say that Senecio wrote the life of Priscus, and Rusticus that of Thrasea.

(30) The date given by Hieronymus[1] is surely wrong. Shortly after the expulsion of the philosophers, Pliny, who was then praetor, went to visit Artemidorus in his place of retirement just outside one of the city gates.[2] Pliny was praetor in 93.[3] Therefore the date given by Eusebius must be approximately correct, and the trial of Rusticus and the banishment of the philosophers should be placed between Aug. 23, 93, and Jan. 1, 94.

(31) The son of the Helvidius Priscus, mentioned above (10.3). He was at first more guarded in his utterances against the emperor and gained the consulship.[1] Nevertheless he detested Domitian and gave vent to his hatred as related above by Suetonius. He was tried before the senate and condemned.[2] After the murder of Domitian, Pliny prosecuted Publicius Certus, who had been the most active of Helvidius's enemies,[3] before the senate.[4]

(32) Suetonius often uses *quasi* and *tamquam* in the sense of "because" or "on the ground that" to give the reason for the action of the subject of the main clause: e. g. *Vesp.* 6, 8, 23; *Tit.* 5.8.

(33) The *exodia* (ἐξ ὁδοῦ) were comic interludes in verse inserted in other plays, but chiefly between the *Atellanae* (Liv. 7.2; cf. *Tib.* 45; Juv. 6.71). They were like the *Atellanae* themselves, played by young and well-born Romans, and not by the professionals. As several *Atellanae* were performed on the

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(30) [1] *a. Abr.* 2111.
[2] Plin. *Epist.* 3.11.
[3] Plin. *Epist.* 7.11.4, 7.16.2; cf. Allain, *Pline le Jeune* p. 286 ff.

(31) [1] Plin. *Epist.* 9.13.2.
[2] Plin. *Epist.* 3.11.3.
[3] Plin. *Epist.* 9.13.2 ff.; cf. 3.11.3; Tac. *Agr.* 45.
[4] Plin. *Epist.* 4.21.3; 7.30.4; 9.13.

TIUM SUUM CUM UXORE TAXASSET;(34) FLAVIUM SABINUM(35) ALTERUM E(36) PATRUELIBUS, QUOD EUM COMITIORUM CONSULARIUM DIE DESTINATUM(37) PERPERAM PRAECO NON CONSULEM AD POPULUM, SED IMPERATOREM PRONUNTIASSET.

same day, it is probable that the *exodia* were played between them. The etymology of the word itself, which signifies something ἐξ ὁδοῦ, or not belonging to the main subject, would seem to indicate this. Teuffel (*Röm. Lit.* §6. n. 4.) considers the *exodium* to have been a comic play performed after any serious piece, and at first to have had no special connection with the *Atellanae*.

(34) Taxat et taxatio a verbo tango dicuntur, unde et taxatores a scenicis dicuntur, qui alterutrum maledictis tangunt (Fest. p. 491, Lindsay).

(35) T. Flavius Sabinus, Domitian's first cousin, was summoned by his father to the Capitol in the Vitellian war along with Domitian.[1] He married Julia, the daughter of Titus,[2] and was assuredly the *gener fratris* mentioned in *Dom.* 12.3. He was *consul ordinarius* with Domitian in 82.[3]

(36) The other one was Flavius Clemens (*Dom.* 15).

(37) *designatum* would be more regular. I can nowhere find the phrase *consul destinatus*, and in the passages (*Jul.* 26; *Cal.* 4; Tac. *A.* 1.3) usually quoted in favor of *destinatum* here, *destinare* does not mean the same as *designare* in the phrase *consul designatus* (consul-elect) which is clearly the meaning of *consulem destinatum* above.

Dio. 67. 11. Λούκιος Μάξιμος——— ὅτι δὲ τά γράμματα ὅσα ἐν τοῖς τοῦ 'Αντωνίου κιβωτίοις εὑρέθη, παρὰ βραχὺ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀσφάλειαν πρὸς τὸ μηδένα ἐξ αὐτῶν συκοφαντηθῆναι θέμενος, ἔκαυσεν, οὐχ ὁρῶ πῶα ἄν αὐτὸν ἀξίως ὑμνήσαιμι. ὁ δὲ Δομιτιανὸς ἀφορμῆς ἐντεῦθεν εὐπορήσας, ἐπὶ τοὺς φόνους καὶ τῶν γραμμάτων χωρὶς ὁρμήσας, οὐδ' ἄν εἴποι τις ὅσους ἀπέκτεινεν. οὕτω γάρ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ ἐπὶ τούτῳ κατέγνω, ὥσθ' ἵνα μηδεμία μνήμη τῶν θανατουμένων ὑπολειφθῇ ἐκώλυσε σφᾶς ἐς τὰ ὑπομνήματα ἐσγραφῆναι. ού μὴν οὐδὲ περὶ τῶν ἀναιρεθέντων τῇ βουλῇ τι ἐπέστειλε, καίπερ τὰς κεφάλας αὐτῶν, ὥσπερ τὴν τοῦ 'Αντωνίου. πέμψας ἐς τήν Ρώμην καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐκθείς. εἱς δ'οὖν τις νεανίσκος

(35) [1] Dio 65.17; cf. Tac. *H.* 3.69; *Dom.* 1.2.
[2] Phil. *Apol.* 7.7.
[3] Fast. cons. p. 16, Liebenam.

VERUM ALIQUANTO POST CIVILIS BELLI(38) VICTORIAM SAEVIOR,(39) PLEROSQUE PARTIS ADVERSAE, DUM ETIAM LATENTIS CONSCIOS INVESTIGAT(O),(40) NOVO QUAESTIONIS GENERE DISTORSIT IMMISSO PER OBSCAENA IGNE; NONNULLIS ET MANUS AMPUTAVIT. SATISQUE CONSTAT DUOS SOLOS E NOTIORIBUS VENIA DONATOS, TRIBUNUM LATICLAVIUM(41) ET CENTURIONEM,(42) QUI SE, QUO FACILIUS EXPERTES CULPAE OSTENDERENT, IMPUDICOS PROBAVERANT(43) ET OB ID NEQUE APUD DUCEM NEQUE APUD MILITES ULLIUS MOMENTI ESSE POTUISSE.

'Ιούλιος Καλούαστρος κεχιλιαρχηκὼς ἐς βουλείας ἐλπίδα, παραδοξότατα ἐσώθη. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ πολλάκις κατὰ μόνας συμμεμιχὼς ἐλέγχετο, καὶ οὐκ εἶχεν ὅπως ἄλλως τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς συνωμοσίας ἀπολύσηται, ἔφη κατ' ἐρωτικὴν χρείαν αὐτῷ συγγεγονέναι. καὶ γὰρ ἦν οἷος ἐρᾶσθαι δύνασθαι. και ὁ μὲν οὕτως ἀφείθη.

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(38) The uprising of Antonius. See on *Dom.* 6.2.

(39) Cf. Hier. *a. Abr.* 2105, quoted on *Dom.* 10.2.

(40) *investigat*, Stephanus; *investigato*, Ω; *per conscios investigatos*, Casaubon.

(41) All the tribunes wore as a sign of their rank, the golden ring of the equestrian order, to which they belonged.[1] But if any were of senatorial descent they wore the *latus clavus*[2] to distinguish themselves from those of knightly origin, who wore the *angustus clavus*.[3] The duties of the tribunes in contradistinction from those of the common soldiers were called *splendidae militiae stipendia*,[4] or *equestres militiae*.[5] Under the empire they received the title *ab equestribus militiis* or simply *ab militiis*[6] on their retirement from the army.

(42) See Marq. *St. V.*[2] 2.368 ff.

(43) Cf. Tac. *A.* 11.36: Caesoninus vitiis protectus est, tamquam . . . passus muliebria.

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(41) [1] Appian. *Pun.* 104; Caes. *B. G.* 3.7.3; 10.2; 7.65.5; *B. C.* 1.77.2.
[2] *Aug.* 38.2; *Dom.* 10.
[3] *Otho* 10.
[4] Val. Max. 4.7.5.
[5] Plin. *Epist.* 7.25.2; Vell. 2.111.3; *CIL.* 3.1198; *Dig.* 29.1.43. *Aug.* 46; *Cl.* 25.
[6] Marq. *St. V.*[2] 2.367.

XI. ERAT AUTEM NON SOLUM MAGNAE, SED ETIAM CALLIDAE INOPINATAEQUE SAEVITIAE. A(U)CTOREM(1) SUMMARUM PRIDIE QUAM CRUCI FIGERET IN CUBICULUM VOCAVIT, ASSIDERE IN TORO IUXTA COEGIT, SECURUM HILAREMQUE DIMISIT, PARTIBUS ETIAM DE CENA DIGNATUS EST.(2)

ARRECINUM CLEMENTEM(3) CONSULAREM, UNUM E FA-

Plin. *Paneg.* 66. Quod enim tam infidum mare quam blanditiae principum illorum, quibus tanta levitas, tanta fraus, ut facilius esset iratos quam propitios habere?

Tac. *Agr.* 39. ut Domitiano moris erat, fronte laetus, pectore anxius.

Dio. 67. 1. Δομιτιανὸς δὲ ἦν μὲν καὶ θρασὺς καὶ ὀργίλος, ἦν δὲ καὶ ἐπίβουλος καὶ κρυψίνους ὥστε ἀφ' ἑκατέρων τῶν μὲν τὸ προπετὲς τῶν δὲ τὸ δόλιον ἔχων, πολλὰ μὲν ὥσπερ σκηπτὸς ὀξέως ἐμπίπτων τισὶν ἐλυμαίνετο, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκ παρασκευῆς ἐκακούργει.

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(1) *actorem* (Torrentius); *auctorem* Ω. *Actor* means the agent or manager of another's business; such as a slave in charge of an estate and its slaves (Plin. *Epist.* 3.19.2). The *actores publici* or agents of the treasury were slaves or at most freedmen (Furneaux on Tac. *A.* 2.30.3; cf. *A.* 3.67.3). Property given to the community was in form made over to its *actor publicus* (Plin. *Epist.* 7.18.2). The *actor summarum* kept accounts and probably did not differ essentially from a *dispensator.*

(2) Dio gives an instance of the diabolical cruelty of Domitian in his description (67.9) of a funereal dinner given by the emperor to some of the chief men of the state. The decorations and entertainment were arranged to suggest death and the tomb. Every detail aimed at causing the guests the fear that the dinner was preliminary to execution.

(3) *Arrecinum,* Π[1] Q N; *arretinum* Ω.

M. Arrecinus Clemens was praetorian praefect under Caligula, and again in 70, although he was of senatorial rank.[1] He was consul for the first time with an unknown colleague in 73[2] and consul again with L. Baebius Honoratus at an unknown date.[3]

(3)[1] Tac. *H.* 4.68.

[2] Fast. cons. p. 15, Liebenam.

[3] *CIL.* 12.3637.

MILIARIBUS ET EMISSARIIS(4) SUIS, CAPITIS CONDEMNATURUS IN EADEM VEL ETIAM MAIORE GRATIA HABUIT, QUOAD NOVISSIME SIMUL GESTANTI,(5) CONSPECTO DELATORE EIUS: "VIS," INQUIT, "HUNC NEQUISSIMUM SERUUM CRAS AUDIAMUS."

ET QUO CONTEMPTIUS ABUTERETUR PATIENTIA HOMINUM,(6) NUMQUAM TRISTIOREM SENTENTIAM SINE PRAE-

He was connected with the Flavian family through his sister Arrecina Tertulla, wife of Titus.[4]

(4) Emissarius: qui clam submittitur ad aliquid explorandum, aut agendum nomine eius, a quo mittitur (Forcellini s. v.). Cf. Cic. *Verr.* 2.2.8, itaque apponit, qui petat Veneri Erycinae illam hereditatem . . . petit Naevius Turpio quidam, istius excursor et emissarius, and Vell. 2.18, quin etiam consulis . . filium . . . per emissarium factionis suae interfecit.

(5) Gesto = *vehor equo, curru, navi, lectica,* whence come *gestatio* and *gestator*. Cf. *Galba* 8: ne ad gestandum quidem aliter umquam iter ingressus, quam ut secum vehiculo proximo decies sestertium in auro efferret.

Tac. *Agr.* 45. Nero tamen subtraxit oculos suos iussitque scelera, non spectavit: praecipua sub Domitiano miseriarum pars erat videre et aspici, cum suspiria nostra subscriberentur, cum denotandis tot hominum palloribus sufficeret saevus ille vultus et rubor, quo se contra pudorem muniebat.

Plin. *Paneg.* 34. excidisti intestinum malum et provida severitate cavisti ne fundata legibus civitas eversa legibus videretur.

Philos. *Apol.* 7.14. θαί τι ὡς ἐκ τῶν νόμων, πράττουσι μὲν γὰρ κατ' αὐτοὺς. δικαστικὸν μὲν δὴ τὸ τῆς τυραννίδος ταύτης ὁρῶ σχῆμα, τελευτᾶν δέ μοι δοκεῖ ἐς ἄκριτον, ὧν γὰρ πρὶν ἢ δικάσαι κατέψηφίσατο, τούτους ὡς μήπω δεδικασμένους ὑπάγει τῇ κρίσει.

Philos. *Apol.* 7. 18. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ψηφιεῖται ἐπὶ σοί οὐκ οἶδα, διάκειται δέ, ὥσπερ οἱ καταψηφίσασθαι μὲν ἐπιθυμῦντες, αἰσχυνόμενοι δὲ τὸ μὴ ἐπ' ἀληθέσι, καὶ πρόθασιν ἀπωλείας ἀνδρῶν ὑπάτων ποιεῖταί σε βούλεται μὲν γὰρ, ἃ μὴ δεῖ, πράττει δ'αὐτὰ καταῤῥυθμίξων ἐς τὴν τοῦ δικαίου δόξον.

(6) Domitian accomplished his illegal ends by an appearance

(3) 4 Tac. *l. c.*

FATIONE CLEMENTIAE PRONUNTIAVIT, UT NON ALIUD IAM CERTIUS ATROCIS EXITUS SIGNUM ESSET QUAM PRINCIPII LENITAS. QUOSDAM MAIESTATIS REOS IN CURIAM INDUXERAT, ET CUM PRAEDIXISSET EXPERTURUM SE ILLA DIE QUAM CARUS SENATUI ESSET, FACILE PERFECERAT UT ETIAM MORE MAIORUM(7) PUNIENDI CONDEMNARENTUR; DEINDE ATROCITATE POENAE CONTERRITUS, AD LENIENDAM INVIDIAM INTERCESSIT HIS VERBIS—NEQUE ENIM AB RE FUERIT(8) IPSA COGNOSCERE: "PERMITTITE, PATRES CONSCRIPTI, A PIETATE VESTRA IMPETRARI, QUOD SCIO ME DIFFICULTER IMPETRATURUM, UT DAMNATIS LIBERUM MORTIS ARBITRIUM INDULGEATIS; NAM ET PARCETIS OCULIS VESTRIS ET INTELLEGENT ME OMNES SENATUI INTERFUISSE."(9)

of strict legality.[1] Philostratus (*Apol.* 7.14) compares the two types of tyrant, the one who puts his victims to death without form of trial, the other who does so after bringing them before a court of law. He gives Nero and Tiberius as examples and endeavors to show that the type which Tiberius and Domitian exemplify is the worse.

(7) *Nero* 49.2: Inter moras perlatos a cursore Phaonti codicillos praeripuit legitque se hostem a senatu iudicatum et quaeri, ut puniatur more maiorum, interrogavitque quale id genus esset poenae; et cum comperisset nudi hominis cervicem inseri furcae, corpus virgis ad necem caedi, . . . Cf. Tac. *A.* 2.32; 4.30.1; 14.48.4; 16.11; and *T. A. P. A.* 39, p. 49.

(8) *fuerit*: not different in meaning from the future (Lane 1632).

(9) At the trial of the three Vestal virgins[1] Domitian boasted of his clemency,[2] and he was eager to have his generosity praised by others.[3]

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(6) [1] Philos. *Apol.* 7.14, 18; Plin. *Paneg.* 34; Tac. *Agr.* 45.

(9) [1] *Dom.* 8.3.

[2] Dio 67.3.

[3] Stat. *Silv.* 3.4.73; 3.3.169; Mart. 9.70.7.

XII. EXHAUSTUS OPERUM AC MUNERUM INPENSIS STIPENDIOQUE, (1) QUOD ADIECERAT, TEMPTAVIT QUIDEM AD RELEVANDOS CASTRENSES SUMPTUS NUMERUM MILITUM DEMINUERE; SED CUM ET OBNOXIUM SE BARBARIS PER HOC ANIMADVERTERET NEQUE EO SETIUS IN EXPLICANDIS ONERIBUS HAERERET, NIHIL PENSI HABUIT QUIN PRAEDARETUR OMNI MODO.
BONA VIVORUM AC MORTUORUM USQUEQUAQUE QUOLI-

Zonaras 11.19B. πέντε γὰρ καὶ ἑβδομήκοντο δραχμὰς ἑκάστου λαμβάνοντος, ἑκατὸν ἐκέλευσε δίδοσθοι (a. 8s. cf. *Dom.* 6.1 and 9.3.). μεταμεληθεὶς δὲ τὴν ποσότητα οὐκ ἐμείωσε, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν στρατευομένων συνέστειλε. καὶ ἑκατέρωθεν μεγάλα τὸ δημόσιον ἔβλοψε, μηθ' ἱκανοὺς τοὺς ἀμύνοντας αὐτῷ καὶ τούτους μεγαλομίσθους ποιήσας. καὶ τοῖς θεραπεύουσι δὲ καὶ τοῖς μή, ἀμφοτέροις ὁμοίως ἤχθετο, τοῖς μεν ὡς θωπεύουσι, τοῖς δὲ ὡς καταφρονοῦσι. νίκας δὲ ψευδεῖς προσποιούμενος, ὕπατος μὲν ἐπ' ἔτη δέκα, τιμητὴς δὲ διὰ βίου κεχειροτόνητο.

Plin. *Paneg.* 27. quocirca nihil magis in tua tota liberalitate laudaverim, quam quod congiarium das de tuo, alimenta de tuo, neque a te liberi civium, ut ferarum catuli, sanguine et caedibus nutriuntur.

Plin. *Paneg.* 50. non enim exturbatis prioribus dominis omne stagnum, omnem locum, omnem etiam saltum immensa possessione circumvenis, nec unius oculis flumina fontes maria deserviunt.

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(1) Domitian carried on no wars after the expedition against the Sarmatians in 93,[1] and received no salutations after that date. The court poets celebrated the blessing of peace[2] and the emperor devoted all his powers to suppressing the aristocracy. He had to defend his power and fill his treasury[3] at the same time, which he tried to accomplish by despoiling the rich, of whose hatred he was well aware, and buying with the means thus obtained the support of the people and the army.

(1) [1] See *Dom.* 6.
[2] Stat. *Silv.* 4.1.12; Sil. 14.686; Mart. 9 (published 94) 31.10; 70.8; 101.21.
[3] Plin. *Paneg.* 50; cf. 3 and 41; *Vesp.* 1.1.

BET ET ACCUSATORE(2) ET CRIMINE CORRIPIEBANTUR. SATIS ERAT OBICI QUALECUMQUE FACTUM DICTUMVE(3) ADVERSUS MAIESTATEM PRINCIPIS.(4) CONFISCABANTUR ALIENISSIMAE HEREDITATES VEL UNO EXISTENTE, QUI

Plin. *Paneg.* 43. In eodem genere ponendum est quod testamenta nostra secura sunt, nec unus omnium, nunc quia scriptus, nunc quia non scriptus, heres. Non tu falsis, non tu iniquis tabulis advocaris.

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(2) M. Aquilina Regulus, frequently mentioned by Pliny who especially hated him,[1] was one of the most famous informers under Domitian, attained great reputation as an orator,[2] and as one of Martial's patrons was constantly flattered by that poet.[3] His wealth and cleverness protected him even after Nerva came to the throne.[4] Other delators were A. Didius Fabricius Veiento,[5] L. Valerius Catullus Mersalinus,[6] Mettius Corus[7] and Palfurius Sura.[8]

(3) dictumve, δς; dictumque Ω.

(4) For the *lex Iulia maiestatis* see *Dig.* 48.4. Vespasian and Titus had never made use of the law of lésé majesté[1], but Domitian found it his most convenient means of disposing of his enemies, and especially of his wealthy and aristocratic opponents.[2] Accusations of lésé majesté had the added advantage that the property of the condemned fell to the imperial treasury. In order to free himself from the opprobrium of these proceedings Domitian generally had his more distinguished victims tried before the Senate, which at this time seemed quite powerless to act contrary to the emperor's wishes.

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(2) [1] See especially Plin. *Epist.* 2.20.13.
[2] Mart. Cap. p. 140, ed. Eyssenhardt; Plin. *Epist.* 6.2; Mart. 5.28.6; 6.38; 6.64.11; 4.16.6.
[3] Mart. 1.12; 2.93; 5.10; 5.21; 5.63;7.16; 7.31.
[4] Plin. *Epist.* 1.5.15; 4.2.4.
[5] Tac. *A.* 14.50; Juv. 3.185; 4.123 ff.; 6.113; Plin. *Epist.* 4.22.4; 9.13. 19.
[6] *Cal.* 36; Plin. *Epist.* 4.22.5; Tac. *Agr.* 45.
[7] Tac. *Agr.* 45; Mart. 12.25.5; Plin. *Epist.* 1.5.3.
[8] Scholia on Juv. 4.53; *Dom.* 13.

(4) [1] Dio 66.9; 66.19.
[2] Dio 67.2.

DICERET(5) AUDISSE SE EX DEFUNCTO, CUM VIVERET, HEREDEM SIBI CAESAREM ESSE.

PRAETER CETEROS IUDAICUS FISCUS ACERBISSIME ACTUS EST;(6) AD QUEM DEFEREBANTUR, QUI VEL(7) INPROFESSI

Dio. 66.7. οὕτω μὲν τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τοῦ Κρόνου ἡμέρᾳ ἣν μάλιστα ἔτι καὶ νῦν Ἰουδαῖοι σέβουσιν, ἐξώλετο. καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνου δίδραχμον ἐτάχθη, τοὺς τὰ πάτρια αὐτῶν ἔθη περιστέλλοντας τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ Διὶ κατ' ἔτος ἀποφέρειν.

Joseph. *B. J.* 7.6.6. (218) φόρον δὲ τοῖς ὁπουδήποτ' οὖσιν Ἰουδαίοις ἐπέβαλε, δύο δραχμὰς ἕκαστον κελεύσας ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος εἰς τὸ Καπετώλιον φέρειν, ὥσπερ πρότερον εἰς τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις νεὼν συνετέλουν.

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(5) Many who hated Domitian left him a part of their property in order that the rest might be secured to their family,[1] for like Caligula[2] and Nero[3] he perhaps declared null and void the wills of those who had not made him heir or at least co-heir, on the ground that the deceased had not shown proper gratitude to their emperor. When he desired the entire fortune or was not named in the will at all, Domitian had a false testament drawn up, dated later than the true one.[4] The empress Domitia appears to have received a number of *hereditates*. On an inscription one of her slaves is qualified as *exactor hered(itatium), legat(orum), peculior(um)*.[5]

(6) Although this tax was imposed on the Jews by Vespasian[1] he was apparently more tactful in its collection than Domitian. At any rate we hear of no oppression of the Hebrews in either his reign or that of Titus, and such Jews as Agrippa II and his sister Berenice lived in high favor at the Roman court.[2] Domitian's financial needs were sufficient reason for being more stringent in regard to this tax than were his father and brother before him.

(7) *vel inprofessi*, Gronov.; *velut inprofessi*, MGγδ; *velut professi X*.

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(5) [1] Cf. Tac. *Agr.* 43.
[2] *Cal.* 38.
[3] *Nero* 32.
[4] Plin. *Paneg.* 43.
[5] *CIL.* 6.8434.

(6) [1] Jos. *B. J.* 7.6.6. (218); Dio 66.7; *CIL.* 6.8604.
[2] Dio 66.15; 66.18; *Tit.* 7.1.

IUDAICUM VIVERENT VITAM VEL DISSIMULATA ORIGINE IMPOSITA GENTI TRIBUTA NON PEPENDISSENT.(8) INTERFUISSE ME ADULESCENTULUM(9) MEMINI, CUM A PROCURATORE(10) FREQUENTISSIMOQUE CONSILIO INSPICERETUR NONAGENARIUS SENEX, AN CIRCUMSECTUS ESSET. AB IUVENTA MINIME CIVILIS ANIMI, CONFIDENS ETIAM ET CUM VERBIS TUM REBUS IMMODICUS, CAENIDI(11) PATRIS CONCUBINAE EX HISTRIA REVERSAE OSCULUMQUE, UT ASSUERAT, OFFERENTI MANUM PRAEBUIT;

(8) To judge from Martial (7.55,7; 7.82) and the above passage this tax was exacted only from the circumcised. The Jews themselves had no occasion to consider this tax a public insult on the ground that it subjected them to humiliating examinations, for they could have spared themselves all this by acknowledging their origin and paying the tax. But Romans who had been converted to the Jewish faith, and Jews who had accepted Christianity justly objected to circumcision being made the basis of the impost. Qui . . . inprofessi Iudaicum viverent vitam were probably Jews who were trying to defraud the government and pagan converts to Judaism, and those who simulata origine . . . tributa non pependissent, Jewish converts to Christianity.

(9) Suetonius says that twenty years after the death of Nero[1] he was *adulescens*, so that the above incident must have happened about 88. This agrees with the statement[2] that for some time after ascending the throne Domitian displayed no avaricious tendencies.

(10) The *procurator a rationibus* (Marqd. *St. V.*[2] 2.306 ff.).

Plin. *Paneg.* 24. non tu civium amplexus ad pedes tuos deprimis nec osculum manu reddis: manet imperatori quae prior oris humanitas: incedebas pedibus, incedis: laetabaris labore, laetaris; eademque illa quae omnia circa te nihil in ipso te fortuna mutavit.

(11) See *Vesp.* 3.

(9) [1] *Nero* 57.
[2] *Dom.* 9.1.

GENERUM FRATRIS[12] INDIGNE FERENS ALBATOS[13] ET IPSUM MINISTROS HABERE, PROCLAMAVIT (*ILIAD* 2.204): οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη.

(12) Flavius Sabinus. See *Dom.* 10.4.

(13) Private individuals, even though well-to-do, wore *vestis albatos* only on festive occasions (Hor. *Sat.* 2.2.61; Pers. 2.40; Cic. *Vatin.* 13.31). White also seems to have been emblematic of royalty: cf. with the above passage *candida fascia* (*Jul.* 79.1) and *equo albo* (*Dom.* 2.1).

XIII. PRINCIPATUM VERO ADEPTUS NEQUE IN SENATU IACTARE DUBITAVIT ET PATRI SE ET FRATRI IMPERIUM DEDISSE, ILLOS SIBI REDDIDISSE, NEQUE IN REDUCENDA POST DIVORTIUM UXORE EDICERE REVOCATAM(1) EAM IN PULVINAR SUUM.(2)
ADCLAMARI ETIAM IN AMPHITHEATRO EPULI DIE LIBENTER AUDIIT: "DOMINO ET DOMINAE FELICITER!"(3) SED ET CAPITOLINO CERTAMINE(4) CUNCTOS INGENTI

Mart. 9.101.15.

Solus Iuleas cum iam retineret habenas
Tradidit inque suo tertius orbe fuit.

Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.91. operibus (poeticis) in quae donato imperio iuvenis secesserat.

Stat. *Silv.* 1.6.81.

tollunt innumeras ad astra voces
"Saturnalia principis" sonantes
et dulci "dominum" favore clamant:
hoc solum vetuit licere Caesar.

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(1) *revocatum*, Salmarius; *vocatum*, Ω.

(2) Strictly speaking the *pulvinar* was a couch for the images of the gods. One of the honors granted to Iulius Caesar was that his statue should be carried in processions on a *pulvinar* like those of the gods.[1] Then the name was applied to the imperial box in the Circus,[2] and finally to the couch on which the emperor slept.[3]

(3) According to Statius[1] Domitian at one time following the example of Augustus[2] and Tiberius (*Tib.* 27), refused the title *Dominus*.

(4) The *certamen Capitolinum* or *sacrum certamen*,[1] as it was sometimes called, is the same as the *quinquennale certamen* described in *Dom.* 4.4.

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(2) [1] *Jul.* 76.1.
[2] *Aug.* 45.1; *Cl.* 4.3.
[3] Juv. 6.132.
(3) [1] Stat. *Silv.* 1.6.81.
[2] *Aug.* 53; Tertull. *Apol.* 34; Dio 55.12.
(4) [1] Quint. *Inst.* 9.4.11; *CIL.* 6.10047.

CONSENSU PRECANTIS, UT PALFURIUM SURAM(5) RESTITUERET PULSUM OLIM SENATU AC TUNC DE(6) ORATORIBUS CORONATUM, NULLO RESPONSO DIGNATUS TACERE TANTUM MODO IUSSIT VOCE PRAECONIS.(7)

PARI ARROGANTIA, CUM PROCURATOREM SUORUM NOMINE FORMALEM DICTARET EPISTULAM, SIC COEPIT:

Zonaras 11.19 D. καὶ δεσπότης καλούμενος καὶ θεὸς ὑπερηγάλλετο. ταῦτα οὐ μόνον ἐλέγετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐγράφετο.

Dio 67.13. κἂν τούτῳ προσκυνήσας αὐτῷ, δεσπότην τε καὶ θεόν, (ἃ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἤδη προσηγορεύετο) πολλάκις ὀνομάσας.

Oros. 7.10.2. Is (Domitianus) in tantam superbiam prolapsus fuit, ut dominum sese ac Deum vocari, scribi, colique iussit.

Hieron. *a. Abr.* 2102 (Oct. 1, 85–Sept. 30, 86). Primus Domicianos DOM. et DM. se appellari iussit.

Plin. *Paneg.* 45. Scis, ut sunt diversa natura dominatio et principatus, ita non aliis esse principem gratiorem, quam qui maxime dominum graventur.

Plin. *Paneg.* 52. Tu delubra non nisi adoraturus intras, tibi maximus honor excubare pro templis postibusque praetexi. Sic fit ut di *tibi* summum inter homines fastigium servent, cum deorum ipse non appetas.

Plin. *Paneg.* 2. Non enim de tyranno, sed de cive, non de domino sed de parente loquimur.

Mart. 5.8.1 (published end of 89). Edictum domini deique nostri. Cf. Mart. 7.34.8; 8.2.6; 9.66.3; 8.82.2; 10.72.3.

Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 11.2. Quippe qui se dominum Deumque dici coegerit: quod confestim ab insequentibus remotum, validius multo post hoc deinceps retulerunt.

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(5) M.[1] Palfurius Sura consularis filius sub Nerone luctatus cum virgine Lacedaemonia in agone, inde a Vespasiano senatu motus transivit ad stoicam sectam, in qua cum praevaleret et eloquentia et artis poeticae gloria, abusus familiaritate Domitiani acerbissime partes delationis exercuit. . . . Domitiano interfecto damnatus, Schol. ad Iuv. 4.53.

(6) For this use of *de* cf. de Chattis . . . triumphum egit, de Sarmatis . . . lauream retulit (*Dom.* 6.1).

(7) The subject for both the Greek and the Latin orations was always the praise of Jupiter Capitolinus (Quint. *Inst.* 3.7.4).

(5) [1] Praenomen, if indeed it is the same person, from *CIL.* 5.8112.64.

"DOMINUS ET DEUS NOSTER(7) HOC FIERI IUBET." UNDE INSTITUTUM POSTHAC, UT NE SCRIPTO QUIDEM AC SERMONE CUIUSQUAM APPELLARETUR ALITER.

Ps. Aur. Vict. *Epit.* 11.6. Ac more Caligulae dominum sese deumque dici coegit.

Dio 67.8. Καὶ τοσαῦτα δὲ αὐτῷ ἐψηφίσθη ὥστε πᾶσαν ὀλίγου δεῖν τὴν οἰκουμένην τὴν ὑπ᾽αὐτὸν οὖσαν, εἰκόνων αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνδριάντων καὶ ἀργυρῶν καὶ χρυσῶν ἐμπλησθῆναι.

Plin. *Paneg.* 52. Itaque tuam statuam in vestibulo Iovis Optimi Maximi unam alteramve et hanc aeream cernimus. At paulo ante aditus omnes, omnes gradus, totaque area hinc auro, hinc argento relucebat seu polluebatur, quum incesti principis statuis permixta deorum simulacra sorderent. Cf. Plin. *Paneg.* 55.

Stat. *Silv.* 5.1.189.

da Capitolinis aeternum sedibus aurum,
quo niteant sacri centeno pondere vultus
Caesaris.

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(7) The title *princeps* merely implied that the emperor was the first citizen of the empire, whereas that of *dominus*, associated as it was with the mastership of slaves, and political tyranny,[1] indicated that the ruler had absolute power over his subjects, and was at first carefully avoided even by the emperors themselves.[2] Caligula was the first to allow himself to be called *dominus*.[3] After Domitian the title became so common that even such princes as Trajan who insisted on being merely *principes*, were addressed by it.[4] *Dominus* first appears on monuments under Severus, on coins under Aurelian,[5] and was officially required by Diocletian.[6] In no inscription is Domitian called *dominus et deus*.[7]

(7) [1] Cic. *de Rep.* 2.26.
[2] *Aug.* 53; Tertul. *Apol.* 34; Dio 55.12; *Tib.* 27.
[3] Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 3.13.
[4] Momm. *St. R.*[3] 2.2.762.
[5] Momm. *St. R.*[3] 2.2.762.
[6] Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 39.4.
[7] Dennison p. 65.

STATUAS SIBI IN CAPITOLIO NON NISI AUREAS AC ARGENTEAS PONI PERMISIT AC PONDERIS CERTI.[(8)] IANOS ARCUSQUE CUM QUADRIGIS ET INSIGNIBUS TRIUMPHORUM PER REGIONES URBIS TANTOS AC TOT EXTRUXIT, UT CUIDAM GRAECE INSCRIPTUM SIT: "ARCI."[(9)]
CONSULATUS SEPTEMDECIM[(10)] CEPIT, QUOT ANTE[(11)]

Hieron. *a. Abr.* 2107 (Oct. 1, 90–Sept. 30, 91). Domicianus tantae superbiae fuit, ut aureas et argenteas statuas sibi in Capitolio poni iusserit.

Dio 67.4. ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐπαρθεὶς, ὑπ' ἀνοίας, ὕπατος μὲν ἔτη δέκα ἐφεξῆς ——— ἐχεροτονήθη.

Auson. 360, Peiper. Scis enim, Imperator doctissime (rursum enim utar laude privata), scis, inquam septem ac decem Domitiani consulatus, quos ille, invidia alteros provehendi, continuando conseruit, . . .

Plin. *Paneg.* 58. Non te ad exemplar eius voco, qui continuis consulatibus fecerat longum quendam et sine discrimine annum.

Stat. *Silv.* 4.1.1.

Laeta bis octonis accedit purpura fastis
Caesaris insignemque aperit Germanicus annum.

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(8) Most of the statues probably perished in the general destruction of the memorials of Domitian by the senate after his death (see on *Dom.* 23.1). Only one statue of him is said to have been standing in Rome at the time of Procopius (*Historia Arcana* 8, p. 55. Dind.).

(9) *arci,* M G δ, = ἀρκεῖ (Turnebus). *Arci* is a transliteration of the Greek word ἀρκεῖ with a pun on its resemblance to *arcus* (Rolfe, note on *Dom.* 13.2).

(10) For the seven consulships which Domitian held previous to the year 82 see note on *Dom.* 2.1. From 82 to 88 he was consul every year, and again in 90, 92, and 95.[1] In 84, after his victory over the Chatti, Domitian had the senate bestow upon him the consulship for ten years,[2] but for some unknown reason

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10) [1] *Fast. cons.* p. 17, Liebenam.
[2] Dio 67.4.

EUM NEMO; EX QUIBUS SEPTEM MEDIOS CONTINUAVIT, OMNES AUTEM PAENE TITULO TENUS GESSIT(12) NEC QUEMQUAM ULTRA KAL. MAI., PLEROSQUE AD IDUS USQUE IANUARIAS.(13)

Dio 67.4. τόν τε 'Οκτώβριον Δομιτιανὸν ἀντωνόμασεν, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ ἐγεγέννητο.

Macr. *Sat.* 1.12.36. Mensis September principalem sui retinet appellationem: quem Germanici appellatione, Octobrem vero suo nomine Domitianus invaserat.

Mart. 9.1.1 (written 93–94).

Dum Ianus hiemes, Domitianus autumnos,
Augustus annis commodabit aestates,
Dum grande famuli nomen asseret Rheni
Germanicarum magna lux Kalendarum.

Stat. *Silv.* 4.1.42.

nondum omnis honorem
annus habet cupiuntque decem tua nomina menses.

Plin. *Paneg.* 54. nunc menses etiam nec hos singulos nomini Caesarum dicabamus.

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the emperor did not hold the consulship continuously for the next ten years, although he could have done so. This action of Domitian was not entirely without precedent, as Vitellius had had the consulship decreed to him for life.[3] On some of the monuments of this period Domitian is the only consul indicated.[4]

(11) *quot* ς; *quod* Ω.

(12) Cf. Plin. *Paneg.* 58, quamquam non ambitio magis quam livor et malignitas videri potest omnes annos possidere, summumque illud purpurae decus non nisi praecerptum praefloratumque transmittere.

(13) E. g., in 86 Ser. Cornelius Dolabella and C. Secius Campanus are indicated as consuls on the 22nd of January, likewise L. Volusius Saturninus and C. Calpurnius on the 22nd of January, 87, L. Venuleius Montanus Apromanus, took Domitian's place from January 13, 92 (*Fast. Cons.* p. 17, Liebenam).

(10) [3] *Vit.* 11.2; Tac. *H.* 3.55.
[4] *CIL.* 6.449; 14.3530; 12.2602.

POST AUTEM DUOS TRIUMPHOS(14) GERMANICI COGNOMINE ASSUMPTO SEPTEMBREM MENSEM ET OCTOBREM EX APPELLATIONIBUS SUIS GERMANICUM DOMITIANUMQUE TRANSNOMINAVIT,(15) QUOD ALTERO SUSCEPISSET IMPERIUM, ALTERO NATUS ESSET.(16)

Eusebius (Latin translation of Armenian version) *a. Abr.* 2102 (Oct. 1, 85–Sept. 30, 86). Duorum mensium nomina mutata sunt, sechtemberi (*sc.* nomen) Germanicus et octobris (hochtemberi) Parthenicus (dicebatur).

Hieron. *a. Abr.* 2103 (Oct. 1, 86–Sept. 30, 87). Duo menses aliter appellati, september Germanicus et october Domicianus.

Inscription of the year 89. Dütschke, *Antike Bildwerke in Oberitalien*, 3. p. 165. no. 327: exces(sit) VIII K(alendas) Germ(anicas) Saeniano et Blaeso co(n)s(ulibus).

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(14) Domitian received the cognomen Germanicus after his victory over the Chatti in 83.[1] He did not celebrate his second triumph which occurred the same time as his third, until 89.[2] One of these last two triumphs was over the Germans, which may account for Suetonius's error, but the title Germanicus occurs on coins and is constantly employed by Martial and Statius from 84 on.

(15) According to Suetonius, these months were renamed in 89 (i. e. post duos triumphos), but since the next statement is manifestly wrong (see notes above) too much confidence cannot be placed in the first. The dates given by Eusebius and Hieronymus vary from Oct. 1, 85 to Sept. 30, 87. Dio places the occurrence after the first triumph over the Chatti (83) but speaks only of September. According to inscriptions, September still retained its old name in 87,[1] but was called *Germanicus* in 89.[2] October was still so called in 87.[3] After *Domitian's* death, both months resumed their former names.[4]

(16) Domitian was born October 24 (*Dom.* 1.1) and received the imperium September 13 (*Tit.* 11).

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(14) [1] See on *Dom.* 6; Frontin. *Strat.* 2.11.7; Mart. 14.170.
[2] See on *Dom.* 6.

(15) [1] *CIL.* 6.2065.
[2] Dütschke, quoted above in parallel passages.
[3] *CIL.* 6.2065.
[4] Macr. *Sat.* 1.12.37.

XIV. PER HAEC TERRIBILIS CUNCTIS ET INVISUS, TANDEM OPPRESSUS EST (. . . .)[1] AMICORUM LIBERTORUMQUE INTIMORUM SIMUL ET UXORIS. ANNUM DIEMQUE ULTIMUM VITAE IAM PRIDEM SUSPECTUM HABEBAT, HORAM ETIAM NEC NON ET GENUS MORTIS. ADULESCENTULO CHALDAEI[2] CUNCTA PRAEDIXERANT; PATER QUOQUE SUPER CENAM QUONDAM FUNGIS[3] AB-

Eutr. 7.23.6. Verum cum ob scelera universis exosus esse coepisset, interfectus est suorum coniuratione in Palatio.

Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 11.7. Is ergo magis magisque saevitia nimius, eoque suspectior etiam suis, libertorum consilio, uxore non ignara . . . poenas luit.

Ps. Aur. Vict. *Epit.* 11.11. Igitur metu crudelitatis, et conscientiae suae coniuravere plerique . . . adscita etiam in consilium tyranni uxore Domitia.

Dio 67.14. ὑποπτεύων οὖν ἐκ τούτων πάντας ἀνθρώπους, οὐκέτι οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς ἐξελευθέροις, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς ἐπάρχοις οὕς γε καὶ παρ' αὐτὴν ἡγεμονίαν κρίνεσθαι ἐποίει, ἐλπίδα ἀσφαλείας εἶχε. καὶ τὸν 'Επαφρόδιτον δὲ τοῦ Νέρωνος πρότερον μὲν ἐξεδίωξε τότε δὲ καὶ ἔσφαξεν, ἐπικαλέσας αὐτῷ ὅτι μὴ ἤμυνε τῷ Νέρωνι ἵν' ἐκ τῆς τιμωρίας, ἣν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου ἐποιεῖτο, πόῤῥωθεν τοὺς ἰδίους ἐλευθέρους ἐκφοβήσῃ μηδὲν τοιοῦτο τολμῆσαι. οὐ μὴν ὠφελήθητι, ἐκ τούτου, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπεβουλεύθη τῷ ἑξῆς ἔτει ἐπί τε Γαΐου Οὐάλεντος, ὃς ἐνενηκοστῷ ἔτει ὑπατεύσας ἐτελεύτησε, καὶ ἐπὶ Γαΐου 'Αντιστίου ὑπάτων ἀπώλετο.

Ovid *Fasti* 1.357.

Rode, caper, vitem: tamen hinc, cum stabis ad aram,
In tua quod spargi cornua possit, erit.

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(1) It is quite impossible to know just what word has fallen out here. Some MSS. have *conspiratione* after *intimorum*, and the Gudianus *insidiis* before *amicorum*, but M L and P have the lacuna. The word now lost may have been *insidiis* or *conspiratione* (both these words occur in c. 17), or *coniuratione* (cf. Eutr. 8.23.6, quoted above).

(2) By this time *Chaldaei* had ceased to be felt as a proper name, indicating the Chaldaean people, and was freely used as a general term for astrologers (*Vit.* 14.4; Juv. 6.553; 10.94).

(3) He no doubt had in mind the rumored cause of Claudius's death (*Cl.* 44.2).

STINENTEM PALAM IRRISERAT UT IGNARUM SORTIS SUAE, QUOD NON FERRUM POTIUS TIMERET. QUARE PAVIDUS SEMPER ATQUE ANXIUS MINIMIS ETIAM SUSPICIONIBUS PRAETER MODUM COMMOVEBATUR. UT EDICTI DE EXCIDENDIS VINEIS(4) PROPOSITI GRATIAM FACERET,(5) NON ALIA MAGIS RE COMPULSUS CREDITUR, QUAM QUOD SPARSI(6) LIBELLI CUM HIS VERSIBUS ERANT (*ANTH. PAL.* IX 9.75):

κἄν(7) με φάγῃς ἐπὶ ῥίζαν, ὅμως ἔτι καρποφρήσω,
ὅσσον ἐπισπεῖσαι σοί, τράγε,(8) θυομένῳ.

(4) See on *Dom.* 7.2.

(5) *rei gratiam facere* is a construction which occurs frequently in Suetonius: e. g. *Aug.* 17, Bononiensibus quoque publice, quod in Antoniorum clientela antiquitus erant, gratiam fecit coniurandi; *Tib.* 35.1, Equiti Romano iurisiurandi gratiam fecit; *Cal.* 15, criminum omnium gratiam fecit; cf. also Plaut. *Rud.* 5.3.59, iurisiurandi volo gratiam facias; Gell. 1.12, gratia Papiae legis per Senatum fit.

(6) It was quite usual for the people to express their disapproval of any action of an emperor in this fashion. Cf. Dio 66.11, εἴ τέ τινα γράμματα, οἷα εἴωθεν ἀνώνυμα εἰς τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας πρόπηλακισμὸν αὐτῷ (i. e. Οὐεσπασιανῷ), φέροντα ἐξετέθη ποτὲ ἀντεξετίθει τὰ πρόσφορα, μηδὲν ταραττόμενος and Tac. *A.* 1.72: hunc quoque asperavere carmina incertis auctoribus vulgata in saevitiam superbiamque eius et discordem cum matre animum. Cf. also *Aug.* 55; *Otho* 3; *Vit.* 14.4; *Dom.* 23.

(7) κἄν, Roth; και Ω; Cf. *CIL.* 4.3407.6.

(8) Alexander argues that in spite of the fact that the original verses of Euenus contain τράγε and Ovid's obviously borrowed lines *caper*, the equivalent of τράγε, κάπρε should be read here. He says, "(1) κάπρε is nearer the mutilated MS. reading than is τράγε, (2) the habits of the boar in relation to the vine are such that κάπρε could be substituted for τράγε without any violence to the sense, (3) it is possible that the change from an original τράγε to κάπρε is due to misquotation, or is even perhaps an intentional alteration. . . ." "There is no finality in the appeal to the Euenian original; indeed the very essence of a successful lampoon lies often in the employment of well-known verse or couplet with the alteration of a single verse or phrase" (Alex. p. 28). This theory is ingenious but quite superfluous.

EADEM FORMIDINE OBLATUM A SENATU NOVUM ET EXCOGITATUM HONOREM, QUAMQUAM OMNIUM TALIUM APPETENTISSIMUS, RECUSAVIT, QUO DECRETUM ERAT UT, QUOTIENS GERERET CONSULATUM, EQ(UITES) R. QUIBUS SORS OBTIGISSET, TRABEATI(9) ET CUM HASTIS MILITARIBUS(10) PRAECEDERENT EUM INTER LICTORES APPARITORESQUE.

Plin. *Paneg.* 49. Ille tamen quibus sibi parietibus et muris salutem suam tueri videbatur, dolum secum et insidias et ultorem scelerum deum inclusit. Dimovit perfregitque custodias poena angustosque per aditus et obstructos non secus ac per apertas fores et invitantia limina inrupit, longeque tunc illi divinitas suo, longe arcana illa cubilia saevique secessus, in quos timore et superbia et odio hominum agebatur.

Cf. Plin. *Paneg.* 82. quantum dissimilis illi qui non Albani lacus otium Baianique torporem et silentium ferre, non pulsum saltem fragoremque remorum perpeti poterat, quin ad singulos ictus turpi formidine horresceret! Itaque procul ab omni sono inconcussus ipse et immotus religato revinctoque navigio non secus ac piaculum aliquod trahebatur: foeda facies, cum populi Romani imperator alienum cursum alienumque rectorem velut capta nave sequeretur.

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(9) The *trabea* was the ancient military uniform of the knights, and was so called from the two narrow purple stripes, *trabes*, which were either woven in or applied to the garment. All members of the equestrian order wore it on the fifteenth of July, when they marched in procession before the censor,[1] also when they served as honorary body guards (as in the above passage) or as funeral escorts,[2] or took part in public banquets;[3] in short, whenever they appeared as the official representatives of their class.

(10) Domitian no doubt considered that it would be very easy for any member of this military cortege to assassinate him.

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(9) [1] Mart. 5.41.5.
[2] Tac. *A.* 3.2.
[3] Stat. *Silv.* 4.2.32.

TEMPORE VERO SUSPECTI(11) PERICULI APPROPINQUANTE SOLLICITIOR IN DIES PORTICUUM, IN QUIBUS SPATIARI CONSUERAT, PARIETES PHENGITE LAPIDE(12) DISTINXIT, E CUIUS SPLENDORE PER IMAGINES QUIDQUID A TERGO FIERET PROVIDERET. NEC NISI SECRETO ATQUE SOLUS PLERASQUE CUSTODIAS, RECEPTIS QUIDEM IN MANUM CATENIS, AUDIEBAT. UTQUE DOMESTICIS PERSUADERET, NE BONO QUIDEM EXEMPLO AUD(I)ENDAM(13) ESSE PATRONI NECEM, EPAPHRODITUM(14) A LIBELLIS CAPITALI POENA CONDEMNAVIT, QUOD POST DESTITUTIONEM(15) NERO IN ADIPISCENDA MORTE MANU EIUS ADIUTUS EXISTIMABATUR.(16)

Dio 67.12. συνεγίνετο δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τοῖς κατηγορήσουσι καὶ τοῖς καταμαρτυρήσουσι. καὶ συνέπλαττε καὶ συνετίθει πάνθ' ὅσα λεχθῆναι ἔδει. Καὶ πολλάκις καὶ τοῖς δεσμώταις κατὰ μόνας ἐλάλει, τὰ δεσμὰ αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ κατέχων, οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλοις τὰ λεχθησόμενα ἐπίστευε, καὶ ἐκείνους καὶ δεδεμένους ἐδεδίει.

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(11) suspecti = anticipated. Cf. suspectas horas,[1] and suspecto bello.[2]

(12) Plin. *N. H.* 36.163: Nerone principe in Cappodocia repertus est lapis duritia marmoris, candidus atque translucens, etiam qua parte fulvae inciderant venae, ex argumento phengites appellatus. Cf. 36.196.

(13) audendam, Pl[2]; audiendam Ω.

(14) Cf. Dio 67.14, quoted on *Dom.* 14.1.

(15) *Nero* 40.2.

(16) *Nero* 49.4.

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(11) [1] Senec. *de Benef.* 6.8.
[2] Livy 24.44.

XV. Denique Flavium Clementem(1) patruelem suum contemptissimae inertiae, cuius filios etiam tum parvulos successores palam destinaverat

Dio 67.14. Κᾆν τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτει (a. 95) ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς καὶ τὸν Φλάουιον Κλήμεντα ὑπατεύοντα, καίπερ ἀνεψιὸν ὄντα καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ αὐτὴν συγγενῆ ἑαυτοῦ Φλαουίαν Δομιτίλλαν ἔχοντα, κατέσφαξεν ὁ Δομιτιανός. ἐπήχθη δὲ ἀμφοῖν ἔγκλημα ἀθεότητος, ὑφ' ἧς καὶ ἄλλοι ἐς τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἤθη ἐξοχέλλοντες πολλοὶ κατεδικάσθησαν, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπέθανον, οἱ δὲ τῶν γοῦν οὐσιῶν ἐστερήθησαν ἡ δὲ Δομιτίλλα ὑπερωρίσθη μόνον ἐς Πανδατέρειαν.

Philos. *Apol.* 8.25. Ἐώθουν δὲ οἱ θεοὶ Δομετιανὸν ἤδη τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων προεδρίας. Ἔτυχε μὲν γὰρ Κλήμεντα, ἀπεκτονὼς ἄνδρα ὕπατον, ᾧ τὴν ἀδελφ <ιδ>ὴν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐδεδώκει, πρόσταγμα δ' ἐπεποίητο περὶ τὴν τρίτην ἢ τετάρτην ἡμέραν τοῦ φόνου κἀκείνην ἐς ἀνδρὸς φοιτάν.

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(1) Flavius Clemens, first cousin of Domitian,[1] brother of Flavius Sabinus,[2] and husband of Flavia Domitilla,[3] was *consul ordinarius* with Domitian (XVII) in 95.[4] Philostratus is in error in making Domitian's sister Domitilla, instead of his niece, the wife of Clemens.

In the cemetery of Domitilla[5] have been found two inscriptions of Domitilla, wife of Clemens: 1. (Flavia Domitilla), filia Flaviae Domitillae, (Imp. Caesaris Vespasi)ani neptis fecit, etc.;[6] 2. Flavia Domitilla, filia Flaviae Domitillae, D(ivi Vespasiani neptis, patri) . . .[7] These, together with the direct statement to that effect of Eusebius,[8] who however can hardly be classed as an unprejudiced authority, are the grounds for believing Domitilla to have been a Christian. The fact that the Christians were often accused of *contemptissima inertia*, because of their lack of interest in public affairs,[9] and the charge

(1) [1] *Dom.* 10.4.
[2] Quint. *Inst.* 4. proem. 2.
[3] *Apol.* 8.25.
[4] *Fasti. cons.* p. 17, Liebenam.
[5] See note on *Dom.* 10.2.
[6] *CIL.* 6.948.
[7] *CIL.* 6.949.
[8] Euseb. ed. Schöne p. 160.
[9] Allard, *Hist. des persécutions de l'Église pendant les deux premiers siècles*, p. XXV ff., 92 ff.

ABOLITO(QUE)(2) PRIORE NOMINE ALTERUM VESPASIANUM APPELLARI, ALTERUM DOMITIANUM,(3) REPENTE EX TENUISSIMA SUSPICIONE TANTUM NON IN IPSO EIUS CONSULATU INTEREMIT. QUO MAXIME FACTO MATURAVIT SIBI EXITIUM.(4)

CONTINUIS OCTO MENSIBUS TOT FULGURA FACTA NUNTIATAQUE SUNT, UT EXCLAMAVERIT: "FERIAT IAM,

against Clemens of Jewish ways and atheism reported by Dio (67.14) might indicate that he was a Christian. But if he was one he must have been one of those who made many compromises between their old and their new religion.[10] Had he openly and boldly repudiated the national faith, he could not have held the civil offices which he did, and as a declared adherent of a faith which was at that very time being persecuted, could not have been condemned ***repente ex tenuissima suspicione.***[11]

(2) abolitoque, N; et abolito, Υ; abolito, M G X (Bentley).

(3) Domitian engaged Quintilian as a tutor for these boys.[1] Clemens obtained for his sons' teacher the *ornamenta consularia.*[2]

(4) Philostratus (*Apol.* 8.25) says the same. See note on *Dom.* 17.1.

Hieron. *a. Abr.* 2112 (Oct. 1, 95–Sept. 30, 96). Multa signa atque portenta Romae et toto orbe facta. (Eusebius, Latin translation of Armenian version puts it in the year 2111, Oct. 1, 94–Sept. 30, 95).

Dio 67.16. καὶ οὐ γάρ ἐστιν οὐδὲν τῶν τηλικούτων ἀπρόοπτον, ἄλλα τε αὐτῷ σημεῖα ἐγένετο οὐκ αἴσια καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ τόν τε Ῥούστικον ξίφει προσιέναι οἱ ——— etc.

Philos. *Apol.* 8.23. Περὶ δὲ τὸν χρόνον ——— ἐπεῖχε τὸν οὐρανὸν διοσημία τοιαύτη τὸν τοῦ ἡλίου κύκλον περιελθὼν στέφανος ἐοικὼς ἴριδι τὴν ἀκτῖνα ἠμαύρου, ὅτι μὲν δὴ ἐς νεώτερα ἡ διοσημία ἔφερε, δῆλα ἦν πᾶσιν,———.

Tac. *H.* 1.3. Praeter multiplices rerum humanarum casus caelo terraque prodigia et fulminum monitus et futurorum

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(1) [10] Le Blant, *Les persecuteurs et les martyrs aux premiers siècles de notre ère*, p. 21 ff.

[11] Hier. *a. Abr.* 2110 (Oct. 1, 93–Sept. 30, 94.)

(3) [1] Quint. *Inst.* 4 proem. 2.

[2] Auson. *Grat. Act.* 31, p. 361, Peiper.

QUEM VOLET." TACTUM DE CAELO CAPITOLIUM(5) TEMPLUMQUE FLAVIAE GENTIS,(6) ITEM DOMUS PALATINA(7) ET CUBICULUM IPSIUS, ATQUE ETIAM E BASI STATUAE TRIUMPHALIS TITULUS EXCUSSUS VI PROCELLAE IN MONIMENTUM PROXIMUM DECIDIT.(8)

ARBOR, QUAE PRIVATO ADHUC VESPASIANO EVERSA SURREXERAT, TUNC RURSUS REPENTE CORRUIT.(9) PRAENESTINA FORTUNA,(10) TOTO IMPERII SPATIO ANNUM

praesagia, laeta tristia, ambigua manifesta; nec enim umquam atrocioribus populi Romani cladibus magisve iustis indiciis adprobatum est non esse curae deis securitatem nostram, esse ultionem.

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(5) See note on *Dom.* 5.

(6) See note on *Dom.* 1.1.

(7) The imperial residence on the Palatine had been remodeled and added to so extensively by Domitian, that he may almost justly be said to have erected it. Cf. parallel passages to *Dom.* 5.

(8) Cf. *Aug.* 97: Sub idem tempus ictu fulminis ex inscriptione statuae eius prima nominis littera effluxit; responsum est, centum solos dies posthac victurum, quem numerum *C* litera notaret, futurumque ut inter deos referretur, quod *aesar* id est reliqua pars e Caesaris nomine, Etrusca lingua deus vocaretur.

(9) See *Vesp.* 5.4.

(10) Cic. *de Divin.* 2.41.85 (cf. *Tib.* 63): Atque ut in haruspicina fecimus, sic videamus, clarissumarum sortium quae tradatur inventio. Numerium Suffustium Praenestinorum monumenta declarant, honestum hominem et nobilem, somniis crebris, ad extremum etiam minacibus cum iuberetur certo in loco silicem caedere, perterritum visis irridentibus suis civibus id agere coepisse; itaque perfracto saxo sortis erupisse in robore insculptas priscarum litterarum notis. Is est hodie locus saeptus religiose propter Iovis pueri, qui lactens cum Iunone Fortunae in gremio sedens mammam adpetens castissime colitur a matribus. Eodemque tempore in eo loco, ubi Fortunae nunc est aedes, mel ex olea fluxisse dicunt, haruspicesque dixisse summa nobilitate illas sortis futuras, eorumque iussu ex illa olea arcam esse factam, eoque conditas sortis, quae hodie For-

NOVUM COMMENDANTI LAETAM EANDEMQUE SEMPER SORTEM DARE ASSUETA, EXTREMO TRISTISSIMAM REDDIDIT(11) **NEC SINE SANGUINIS MENTIONE.**

tunae monitu tolluntur. Lanciani (*Wanderings in the Roman Campagna*, p. 228 and 232) says, "This tradition must have been formed and spread among the worshipers to explain certain particulars of the origin and aspect of the place. The cave, the recess in which the olive box was kept and the lots were drawn, and the niche where the goddess was venerated as Primigenia (that is, as *generatrix* or nourisher of the gods), are still in a marvelous state of preservation. From a study of the part they played in the working of the establishment and in the deception of response-seekers, we come to this conclusion: that the oracle of Praeneste was one of the simplest, and as far removed from trickery and subterfuge as the nature and essence of such places would permit. . . . Palestrina is an episcopal city of seven thousand inhabitants, built almost entirely within the precincts of the temple (of Fortune). Every house, church, convent or villa rests on antique foundations. They rose in steps and terraces up the slope of the mountain to a great height, the difference of level between the lower gate and the pinnacle of the upper rotunda being five hundred feet. The lower terrace had a frontage of twelve hundred feet, and the whole establishment covered an area of about eighty acres. Such figures of length, breadth, and surface do not mean much by themselves; but if we cover that space with structures of stone and marble exquisitely cut and carved; with colonnades of the costliest breccia, crowned with capitals of gilt metal; with hundreds of statues chiselled or cast by Greek artists; if we consider that the only mosaic floor yet exhumed at Palestrina is the finest in the world, we may grasp the idea of the millions which must have been lavished upon and absorbed by the building and ornamenting of the great sanctuary. To be sure, comparisons with modern undertakings of the same nature may be misleading because the value and the potentiality of money were altogether different in those days; yet I cannot help recalling the fact that the rebuilding of St. Peter's has cost the pontifical treasury about eight million pounds, and St. Peter's does not cover, annexes included, two-thirds of the area of the temple of Fortune."

(11) *reddidit*, ϒ; the other MSS. have *reddit*.

MINERVAM, QUAM SUPERSTITIOSE COLEBAT,(12) SOMNIAVIT EXCEDERE SACRARIO NEGANTEMQUE(13) ULTRA SE TUERI EUM POSSE, QUOD EXARMATA ESSET A IOVE. NULLA TAMEN RE PERINDE COMMOTUS EST QUAM RESPONSO CASUQUE ASCLETARIONIS(14) MATHEMATICI.

Dio 67.16. καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, ἣν ἐν τῷ κοιτῶνι ἱδρυμένην εἶχε, τὰ ὅπλα ἀποβεβληκέναι καὶ ἐπὶ ἅρματος ἵππων μελάνων ἐς χάσμα ἐσπίπτειν ἔδοξεν.

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(12) There is no doubt that Domitian regarded Minerva as his patron goddess. Dio (67.1) says τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἤγαλλε with which compare Philostratus. (*Apol.* 7.32, 8.16, 8.25). To this goddess the emperor dedicated a chapel adjoining the temple of Augustus,[1] the Atrium or Chalcidium of the new Curia,[2] the temple at the end of the Forum Transitorium,[3] the temple of Minerva Chalcidica under the present church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva,[4] while the colossal statue of Domitian erected in the Forum held a statue of the goddess of wisdom in its hand.[5] On the Quinquatria Minervae see note on *Dom.* 4.4. Minerva is represented on many coins,[6] and contemporary writers often associate Minerva in their praises of the emperor.[7]

(13) *negantemque*, MSS.; *negantem*, Stephanus; *negantem quoque*, Oudendorp; lacuna before *negatemque*, Roth.

Dio 67.16. ἕτερός τέ τις πρότερον πότε εἰπὼν αὐτῷ καὶ ὑπότε καὶ ὅπως φθαρήσεται, ἔπειτα ἐρωτηθεὶς ὁποίῳ αὐτὸς τέλει τοῦ βίου χρήσεται, καὶ ἀποκρινάμενος ὅτι ὑπὸ κυνῶν ἀναλωθήσεται, ἐκελεύσθη μὲν ζῶν κατακαυθῆναι καὶ τὸ πῦρ αὐτῷ προσήχθη; ὑετοῦ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ πολλοῦ καταῤῥυέντος ἥ τε πυρὰ ἐσβέσθη καὶ ἐκεῖνον κύνες ὀπίσω τὼ χεῖρε δεδεμένον καὶ ἐπικείμενον ἐπ' αὐτῆς εὑρόντες διεσπάραξαν.

(14) *ascletarionis*, *Asclepariónis* Bentley (cf. Boissevain on Dion. 67.16.3), *Asclationis* F. Cumont (*Catal. Astrol. Graec.* p. 205).

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(12) [1] Jordan *Top.* 1.3.84.
[2] Jordan *Top.* 1.2.255.
[3] Mart. 1.2.8.
[4] *Chronogr. a.* 354; Jordan 1.3.573.
[5] Stat. *Silv.* 1.1.37.
[6] Cohen, *Domitien* 24 ff.; 65 ff.; 178 ff.
[7] Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.91; Stat. *Silv.* 1.1.5; 4.1.22; Mart. 5.2.8; 5.5.1; 6.10.9; ff., 7.1; 8.1.4; 9.3.10; 9.24.5; 14.179; *CIL.* 14.2897.

HUNC DELATUM NEC INFITIANTEM IACTASSE SE QUAE PROVIDISSET EX ARTE, SCISCITATUS EST, QUIS IPSUM MANERET EXITUS; ET AFFIRMANTEM FORE UT BREVI LACERARETUR A CANIBUS, INTERFICI QUIDEM SINE MORA, SED AD COARGUENDAM TEMERITATEM ARTIS SEPELIRI QUOQUE ACCURATISSIME IMPERAVIT. QUOD CUM FIERET EVENIT UT REPENTINA TEMPESTATE DEIECTO FUNERE SEMIUSTUM CADAVER DISCERPERENT CANES,(15) IDQUE EI CENANTI A MIMO LATINO,(16) QUI PRAETERIENS FORTE ANIMADVERTERAT, INTER CETERAS DEII FABULAS REFERRETUR.

(15) Cf. the story of Tiberius and Thrasyllus, *Tib.* 14.4.

(16) Latinus was a great favorite of Domitian and much feared as an informer.[1] He frequently acted as *mimus* in conjunction with Thymele as *mima*.[2] Martial wrote his epitaph.[3]

(16) [1] Juv. 1.36.
[2] Mart. 1.4.5.
[3] Mart. 9.28.

XVI. PRIDIE QUAM PERIRET, CUM OBLATOS TUBURES(1) SERVARI IUSSISSET IN CRASTINUM, ADIECIT: "SI MODO UTI LICUERIT," ET CONVERSUS AD PROXIMOS AFFIRMAVIT "FORE UT SEQUENTI DIE LUNA SE IN AQUARIO CRUENTARET(2) FACTUMQUE ALIQUOD EXISTERET, DE QUO LOQUERENTUR HOMINES PER TERRARUM ORBEM." AT CIRCA MEDIAM NOCTEM ITA EST EXTERRITUS, UT E STRATO(3) PROSILIRET. DEHINC MANE HARUSPICEM EX GERMANIA MISSUM, QUI CONSULTUS DE FULGURE(4)

Dio 67.16. ὃ δὲ δὴ μάλιστα διαπάντων ἄξιον θαυμάσαι ἐστὶ Λαργῖνός τις Πρόκλος δημοσίᾳ προειπὼν ἐν Γερμανίᾳ, ὅτι τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἐν ᾗ ἀπέθανε τελευτήσει, ἀνεπέμφθη τε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος. καὶ ἐσαχθεὶς πρὸς τὸν Δομιτιανὸν ἔφη καὶ τότε τοῦθ' οὕτως ἕξειν, και καταδικασθεὶς τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἀνεβλήθη τε ὅπως διαφυγόντος αὐτοῦ τὸν κίνδυνον ἀποθάνῃ, κἀν τούτῳ τοῦ Δομιτιανοῦ σφαγέντος ἐσώθη καὶ δέκα μυριάδας δραχμῶν παρὰ τοῦ Νερούα ἔλαβεν.

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(1) Plin. *N. H.* 15.47: Malorum plura sunt genera. . . . Aeque peregrina sunt zizipha et tuberes, quae et ipsa non pridem venere in Italiam, haec ex Africa, illa ex Syria. Sex. Papinius, quem consulem vidimus, primus utraque attulit divi Augusti novissimis temporibus, in castris sata, . . . Tuberum duo genera: candidum et a colore *syricum* dictum. Paene peregrina sunt in uno Italiae agro Veronensi nascentia quae lanata appellantur; lanugo ea obducit, strutheis quidem Persicisque pluruma; his tamen peculiare nomen dedit nulla alia commendatione insignibus. Cf. Mart. 13.42: Non tibi de Libycis tuberes et apyrina ramis, De Nomentanis sed damus arboribus.

(2) *Aquarius* is the eleventh sign of the zodiac, which the sun enters about the 20th of January; so called from the rains which prevail at that season in Italy and the East. Domitian meant that as he was likely to be slain at this season, the moon would be stained with blood which, on account of the momentous event about to happen, would replace the showers usually occurring when the moon was in Aquarius.

(3) *Stratum* may mean either the bed itself or the bedding or mattress. It is used in the former sense here and in *Cal.* 51; and in the latter in *Aug.* 6 and Lucr. 4.849, mollia strata lecti.

(4) Cf. Plin. *N. H.* 2.141: Imperare naturae sacra, audacis est credere, nec minus hebetis, beneficiis abrogare viris, quando

MUTATIONEM RERUM PRAEDIXERAT, AUDIT CONDEMNAVITQUE.
AC DUM EXULCERATAM IN FRONTE VERRUCAM VEHEMENTIUS SCALPIT, PROFLUENTE SANGUINE: "UTINAM," INQUIT, "HACTENUS." TUNC HORAS REQUIRENTI PRO QUINTA, QUAM METUEBAT, SEXTA EX INDUSTRIA NUNTIATA EST. HIS VELUT TRANSACTO IAM PERICULO LAETUM FESTINANTEMQUE AD CORPORIS CURAM PARTHENIUS(5) CUBICULO PRAEPOSITUS(6) CONVERTIT, NUN-

in fulgurum quoque interpretatione eo profecit scientia ut ventura alia finito die praecinat et an peremptura sint fatum aut apertura prius alia fata quae lateant, innumerabilis in utroque publicis privatisque experimentis. Quam ob rem sint ista, ut rerum naturae libuit, alias certa, alias dubia, aliis probata, aliis damnando; nos de cetero quae sunt in his memorabilia non omittimus.

(5) Parthenius, the *cubicularius* of Domitian, is frequently mentioned by Martial,[1] who asks him to present his poems to the emperor.[2] He gave Martial a toga,[3] and the latter presented to him his eleventh book of epigrams.[4] Parthenius favored Nerva's succession to the throne.[5] The latter was unable to save him from the wrath of the soldiers after Domitian's death.[6] There seems to be some disagreement on the significance of the fact that Parthenius,[7] as well as Narcissus,[8] was allowed to wear an officer's sword. This was a privilege belonging not even to senatorial proconsuls, but only to generals appointed by the emperor. That it was granted to the two freedmen above mentioned may be regarded as evidence of their military authority over the palace guards.[9] Mommsen[10] however does

(5) [1] 4.45.2; 4.78.8.
[2] Mart. 5.6.2; 12.11.1.
[3] Mart. 8.28.16; 9.49.3.
[4] Mart. 11.1.3.
[5] Eutr. 8.1; Oros. 7.11; Ps. Aur. Vict. *Epit.* 12.2.
[6] Ps. Aur. Vict. *Epit.* 12.8, quoted on *Dom.* 23.
[7] Dio 67.15, quoted on *Dom.* 17.
Zon. 11.9 D.
iedl. *SG.*[6] 1.100.
R.[3] 1.435. a. 3.

TIANS ESSE QUI[(7)] MAGNUM NESCIO QUID AFFERRET, NEC DIFFERENDUM. ITAQUE SUMMOTIS OMNIBUS IN CUBICULUM SE RECEPIT ATQUE IBI OCCISUS EST.

not consider that in these two particular instances, the wearing of the sword implies a bestowal of a military command.

(6) The *cubicularii* were originally slaves who had the care of the sleeping and dwelling rooms. It was their duty to introduce visitors,[1] for which purpose they appear usually to have remained in an ante-room.[2] The *cubicularii* of the emperor were commonly divided into *stationes*,[3] and also into *decuriae*.[4] Their chief was usually a freedman and a person of much influence with the prince. Under the late empire this officer enjoyed the high-sounding title of *praepositus sacri cubiculi*.[5]

(7) Stephanus; see *Dom.* 17.1.

(6) [1] Cic. *Att.* 6.2.5; *Verr.* 3.4.
[2] *Tib.* 21.2; *Dom.* 16.2.
[3] Orelli 4663; 6312.
[4] *Dom.* 17.2.
[5] Cod. Theod. 6.8.

XVII. De insidiarum caedisque genere haec fere divulgata sunt.

Cunctantibus conspiratis, quando et quo modo, id est[1] lavantemne an cenantem adgrederentur, Stephanus, Domitillae[2] procurator et tunc in-

Dio 67.15. Ἐπέθεντο δὲ αὐτῷ, καὶ συνεσκευάσαντο τὴν πρᾶξιν. Παρθένιός τε ὁ πρόκοιτος αὐτοῦ, καίπερ οὕτω τιμώμενος παρ' αὐτοῦ ὡς καὶ ξιφηφορεῖν, καὶ Σιγηρὸς ἐν τῇ προκοιτίᾳ καὶ αὐτὸς ὤν, Ἔντελλός τε ὁ τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς βιβλία διέπων μετὰ Στεφάνου ἀπελευθέρου. καὶ αὐτὸ οὔτε ἡ Δομιτία ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ οὔτε δὲ ὁ Νωρβανὸς ὁ ἔπαρχος οὐδ' ὁ σύναρχος Πετρώνιος Σεκοῦνδος ἠγνόησαν, ὥς γε καὶ λέγονται. ἥ τε γὰρ Δομιτία ἀεί ποτε ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐμισεῖτο καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἐφοβεῖτο μὴ καὶ ἀποθάνῃ, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οὐκέτ' αὐτὸν ἐφίλουν, οἱ μέν, ὅτι ἐνεκαλοῦντό τινα, οἱ δ' ὅτι προσεδέχοντο. ἤκουσα δὲ ἔγωγε καὶ ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι πάντας ἅμα αὐτους ὁ Δομιτιανὸς ὑποπτεύσας, ἀποκτεῖναι ἠθέλησε, καὶ σφῶν τὰ ὀνόματα ἐς σανίδιον φιλύρινον δίθυρον ἐσγράψας ὑπὸ τὸ προσκεφάλαιον ἐν τῇ κλινῃ, ἐν ᾗ ἀνεπαύετο ὑπέθηκε, καὶ αὐτὸ παιδίον τι τῶν γυμνῶν τῶν ψιθύρων καθεύδοντος αὐτοῦ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἀφελόμενον εἶχεν, οὐκ εἰδὸς ὅ τι φέροι, προστυχοῦσα δὲ αὐτῷ ἡ Δομιτία τά τε γεγραμμένα ἀνέγνω καὶ ἐμήνυσε καὶ ἐκείνοις. κἀκ τούτου καὶ ἄλλως διανοούμενοι συνετάχυναν τὴν ἐπιβουλήν.

Philos. *Apol.* 8.25. Στέφανος τοίνυν ἀπελεύθερος τῆς γυναικός, (=Domitillae) ὃν ἐδήλου τὸ τῆς διοσημίας σχῆμα, εἴτε τὸν τεθνεῶτα ἐνθυμηθείς, εἴτε πάντας, ὥρμησε μὲν ἴσα τοῖς ἐλευθερωτάτοις Ἀθηναίοις ἐπὶ τὸν τύραννον, ξίφος δ' ὑψείρας τῷ τῆς ἀριστερᾶς πήχει καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἐπιδέσμοις ἀναλαβὼν οἷον κατεαγυῖαν ἀπιόντι τοῦ δικαστηρίου προσελθών, "δέομαί σου," ἔφη, "βασιλεῦ, μόνου, μεγάλα γάρ, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀκούσῃ. οὐκ ἀπαξιώσαντος δὲ τοῦ τυράννου τὴν ἀκρόασιν ἀπολαβὼν αὐτὸν ἐς τὸν ἀνδρῶνα, οὗ τὰ βασίλεια, "οὐ τέθνηκεν," εἶπεν, "ὁ πολεμιώτατός σοι Κλήμης, ὡς σὺ οἴει, 'αλλ' ἔστιν οὗ ἐγὼ οἶδα, καὶ ξυντάττει ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ σέ." μέγα δ' αὐτοῦ βοήσαντος περὶ ὧν ἤκουσε, τεταραγμένῳ προσπεσὼν ὁ Στέφανος, καὶ τὸ ξίφος τῆς ἐσκευασμένης χειρὸς ἀνασπάσας διῆκε τοῦ μηροῦ πρὸς μὲν τὸν αὐτίκα θάνατον οὐ καιρίαν πρὸς δὲ τὸν μετὰ ταῦτα οὐκ ἄκαιρον. ὁ δ' ἐρρωμένος μὲν καὶ ἄλλως τὸ σῶμα γεγονὼς δὲ περὶ τὰ πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντα ἔτη ξυνεπλάκη τρωθείς, καὶ καταβαλὼν τὸν Στέφανον ἐπέκειτο, τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὀρύττων καὶ τὰς παρειὰς ξυντρίβων πυθμένι χρυσῆς κύλικος αὐτοῦ κειμένης περὶ τὰ ἱερά, ἐκάλει δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἀρωγόν. συνέντες οὖν οἱ δορυφόροι κακῶς πράττοντος ἐσῆλθον ἀθρόοι, καὶ τὸν τύραννον ἀπέκτειναν λειποθυμοῦντα ἤδη.

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(1) Suetonius frequently uses *id est* or *hoc est* as a transition from a general to a particular statement. See *Jul.* 19 and 56.6; *Aug.* 26.2; *Vesp.* 11.

(2) Niece of Domitian and wife of Flavius Clemens. See on *Dom.* 15.1.

TERCEPTARUM PECUNIARUM REUS, CONSILIUM OPERAMQUE OBTULIT. AC SINISTERIORE BRACHIO VELUT AEGRO LANIS FASCIISQUE(3) PER ALIQUOT DIES AD AVERTENDAM SUSPICIONEM· OBVOLUTO, SUB IPSAM HORAM DOLONEM(4) INTERIECIT; PROFESSUSQUE CONSPIRATIONIS INDICIUM ET OB HOC ADMISSUS LEGENTI TRADITUM A SE LIBELLUM ET ATTONITO SUFFODIT INGUINA.

SAUCIUM AC REPUGNANTEM ADORTI CLODIANUS(5) CORNICULARIUS(6) ET MAXIMUS(7) PARTHENI LIBERTUS ET

(3) Cf. Mart. 6.41.1:

Qui recitat lana fauces et colla revinctus.

(4) *dolonem*, Ferrarius; *dolum* Ω; *dolo* δ.

Cf. Servius on Verg. *Aen.* 7.664: Dolo est aut flagellum, intra cuius virgam latet pugio; aut, secundum Varronem, ingens contus cum ferro brevissimo. Dolones autem a fallendo dicti sunt, quod decipiant ferro, cum speciem praeferant ligni.

Dio 67.17. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τάχιστα ἐκ τοῦ δικαστηρίου ἀνέστη, καὶ ἀναπαύσεσθαι τὸ μεθημερινόν, ὥσπερ, εἰώθει, ἔμελλε, πρῶτον μὲν τοῦ ξίφους, ὃ ἀεί ποτε ὑπὸ τῷ προσκεφαλαίῳ αὐτοῦ ἔκειτο, τὸ σιδήριον ὁ Παρθένιος ἐξεῖλεν, ὅπως μὴ χρήσηται. ἔπειτα τὸν Στέφανον ἐρρωμενέστερον τῶν ἄλλων ὄντα ἐσέπεμψε. καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἔπληξε μὲν τὸν Δομιτιανόν, οὐ μὴν καιρίαν, ἀλλά καταβληθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἔκειτο. οὕτω δὲ, δείσας μὴ διαφύγῃ, ἐπεισεπήδησεν, ἢ· ὥς γέ τισι δοκεῖ, Μάξιμον ἐξελεύθερον ἐπεισέπεμψε. καὶ ὅ, τε Δομιτιανὸς οὕτω κατεσφάγη, καὶ ὁ Στέφανος, παραχρῆμα συνδραμόντων ἐπ' αὐτὸν τῶν οὐ συμμετεσχηκότων τῆς συνωμοσίας, προσαπώλετο.

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(5) Aurelius Victor (Ps. Aur. Vict. *Epit.* 11.11) says: Impulsoribus Parthenio . . . et Stephano et tum ob fraudem interceptae pecuniae supplicium suspectante Clodiano. . . . The transference of *ob fraudem*, etc., from Stephanus to Clodianus is either due to carelessness on the part of Victor, or to the falling out of an *et* before *Clodiano* in the manuscripts.

(6) The *cornicularius* so called from *corniculum*,[1] the decoration attached to his helmet, was an adjutant or aide-de-camp attached to the higher military commanders. In early times there was perhaps only one to each legion, subject to the *tribunus militum* whose turn it was to command.[2] From the time of

(6) [1] Liv. 10.44.5.

[2] Frontin. *Strateg.* 3.14.1; Val. Max. 6.1.11.

SATUR(8) DECURIO CUBICULARIORUM(9) ET QUIDAM E GLADIATORIO LUDO VULNERIBUS SEPTEM CONTRUCIDARUNT. PUER, QUI CURAE(10) LARUM CUBICULI(11) EX

Marius the *legatus* of each legion had one *cornicularius*, and the tribune in command another; therefore two *cornicularii* are generally mentioned in inscriptions.[3] Provincial governors likewise had their *cornicularii*,[4] and if the governor was of consular rank, his subordinate was *cornicularius consularis*.[5] Other officers found with *cornicularii* attached to them are the *praefectus praetorio*,[6] the tribunes of the praetorian cohorts,[7] the *praefectus urbi* and the *tribuni coh. urb.*,[8] the *praefectus vigilum*,[9] the *subpraefectus vigilum* and the tribunes of the *vigiles*,[10] and various procurators.[11]

(7) Maximus is mentioned only here and in Dio 67.17 quoted above.

(8) This person is called Σιγηρός by Dio (67.15), and Sigerius by Martial (4.78.8) and Tertullian (*Apol.* 35). The form Sigerius is also vouched for by *CIL.* 8.10983. Cf. *Prosop.* 3.242. n. 500.

(9) See on *cubiculo praepositus*, *Dom.* 16.2.

(10) *Cura* is frequently used to indicate an office. Cf. *Tib.* 13, nequam partem curamve reipublicae attingeret, and *Vit.* 15, Proconsulatum Africae posthac curamque operum publicorum administravit.

(11) Cf. *Aug.* 7.1, inter cubiculi Lares. The "Lares of the bed-chamber" were a marked feature of the palace. Family busts were frequently placed among the images (*Cal.* 7). Nero placed there the crowns he had won by his victories in contests in Greece (*Nero* 25.2).

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(6) [3] *CIL.* 2.4122.
[4] *CIL.* 3.3543.
[5] *CIL.* 3.1106; cf. 3543.
[6] *CIL.* 3.3846.
[7] *Eph. Ep.* 4. p. 415 n. 53–59.
[8] Marq. *St. V.*[2] 2.547 n. 5
[9] *Eph. Ep.* 4. p. 414. n. 33–38.
[10] *Eph. Ep.* 4. p. 414. n. 39.40 and p. 416 n. 63–65.
[11] *Eph. Ep.* 4. p. 413. n. 18–22.

CONSUETUDINE ASSISTENS(12) INTERFUIT CAEDI, HOC AMPLIUS NARRABAT, IUSSUM SE A DOMITIANO AD PRIMUM STATIM VULNUS PUGIONEM PULVINO SUBDITUM PORRIGERE AC MINISTROS VOCARE, NEQUE AD CAPUT QUIDQUAM EXCEPTO CAPULO ET PRAETEREA CLAUSA OMNIA REPPERISSE; ATQUE ILLUM INTERIM ARREPTO DEDUCTOQUE AD TERRAM STEPHANO CONLUCTATUM DIU, DUM MODO FERRUM EXTORQUERE, MODO QUANQUAM LANIATIS DIGITIS OCULOS EFFODERE CONATUR.(13)

(12) *Assistere* is here used in the sense of the French *assister*. Cf. Hor. *Sat.* 1.6.113:

vespertinumque pererro
Saepe forum, adsisto divinis, inde domum. . . .

(13) Both Dio and Philostratus tell a miraculous story—that Apollonius was lecturing in Ephesus at the time of the murder of Domitian and that he suddenly knew what was happening in Rome (Philos. *Apol.* 8.26; Dio 67.18). Dio tells that he shouted out:

" καλῶς, Στέφανε, εὖγε Στέφανε, παῖε τὸν μιαιφόνον. Ἔπληξας, ἔτρωσας, ἀπέκτεινας."

Dio 67.18. Δομιτιανὸς δὲ ἔζησε μὲν ἔτη τέσσαρα καὶ τεσσαράκοντα μῆνας δέκα καὶ ἡμέρας ἓξ και εἴκοσιν, ἐμονάρχησε δὲ ἔτη πεντεκαίδεκα καὶ ἡμέρας πέντε. καὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα Φυλλὶς ἡ τροφὸς κλέψασα ἔθαψεν.

Eutr. 7.23.6. Interfectus est . . . in Palatio anno aetatis quadragesimo quinto, imperii quinto decimo. Funus eius cum ingenti dedecore per vispillones exportatum et ignobiliter est sepultum.

Hieron. *a. Abr.* 2112. Domicianus occissus in Palatio et per vispillones ignobiliter exportatus anno aetatis XXXXV.

Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 11.7. Poenas luit; quinto et quadragesimo vitae anno, dominationis circiter quinto decimo.

Ps. Aur. Vict. *Epit.* 11.12. Domitianum . . . confodiunt post annum quintum et quadragesimum vitae. 11.1. imperavit annos quindecim.

Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 11.8. Senatus gladiatoris more funus ferri . . . decrevit.

OCCISUS EST XIIII. KAL. OCTB.[14] ANNO AETATIS QUADRAGENSIMO QUINTO,[15] IMPERII QUINTO DECIMO.[16] CADAVER EIUS POPULARI SANDAPILA[17] PER VISPILLONES[18] EXPORTATUM PHYLLIS[19] NUTRIX IN SUB-

Oros. 7.10.7. Cuius cadaver populari sandapila per vispillones exportatum atque ignominiosissime sepultum est.

Auson. p. 185 (Peiper). quindecies saevis potitus tum frater habenis.

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(14) Sept. 18, 96.

(15) As Domitian was born Oct. 24, 51 (*Dom.* 1.1), he lived forty-four years, ten months and twenty-five days. Dio (67.18) in giving the number of days as twenty-six probably counts both the initial and final date.

(16) Dio (67.18) says that Domitian reigned fifteen years and five days. As Dio appears to count both initial and final dates this would give Sept. 14, 81, as the date of Domitian's accession. According to Dio 66.26, Domitian was proclaimed emperor by the soldiers on the very day of Titus's death (September 13) (*Tit.* 11; cf. *Vesp.* 24; Dio 66.17), but the senate did not bestow the *imperium* upon him until September 14. *Acta Arvalium CIL.* 6.2060: XV(III) k(alendas) octobr(es) . . . ob imperium . . . Domitiani. The emendation is Henzen's (Henzen, *Acta Fratrum Arvalium* p. 64).

(17) Fulg. *Serm. Ant.* 1: Sandapilam antiqui dici voluerunt feretrum mortuorum, id est loculum, non in quo nobilium corpora, sed in quo plebeiorum atque damnatorum cadavera portabantur sicut Stesimbrotus Tasius de morte Policratis regis Samiorum descripsit dicens, "Posteaquam de cruce depositus sandapila etiam deportatus est." Cf. Mart. 2.81.2; 8.75.14 (*angusta* sandapila); 9.2.12; 10.5.9 (*Orciniana sponda*); Hor. *Sat.* 1.8.9, *vilis arca.*

(18) *Vispillonis* M G S, *vespillones*, Beroald.

Festus. p. 506. (Lindsay): Vespae et vespillones dicuntur, qui funerandis corporibus officium gerunt, non a minutis illis volucribus, sed quia vespertino tempore eos efferunt, qui funebri pompa duci propter inopiam nequeunt. Hi etiam vespulae vocantur. Mart. 1.30.1: Qui fuerat medicus nunc est vispillo Diaulus.

URBANO SUO LATINA VIA FUNERAVIT, SED RELIQUIAS TEMPLO FLAVIAE GENTIS[20] CLAM INTULIT CINERIBUSQUE IULIAE TITI FILIAE[21] QUAM ET IPSAM EDUCARAT, CONMISCUIT.

(19) Phyllis ς; Phyllix, Ω.
(20) See on *Dom.* 1.1.
(21) See Price on *Tit.* 4.2.

XVIII. **STATURA FUIT PROCERA, VULTU MODESTO RUBORISQUE PLENO, GRANDIBUS OCULIS, VERUM ACIE HEBETIORE; PRAETEREA PULCHER**(1) **AC DECENS, MAXIME IN IUVENTA, ET QUIDEM TOTO CORPORE EXCEPTIS PEDIBUS, QUORUM DIGITOS RESTRICTIORES HABEBAT; POSTEA CALVITIO QUOQUE DEFORMIS ET OBESITATE VENTRIS**(2) **ET CRURUM GRACILITATE,**(3) **QUAE TAMEN EI VALITUDINE LONGA EMACRUERANT.**(4)

Philos. *Apol.* 7.28. δεῖ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ φθέγμα τοῦ βασιλέως παρεσκευάσθαι σε καὶ πρὸς τὸ δὺστροπον τοῦ προσώπου, φθέγγεται μὲν γὰρ βαρύ, κἂν πρᾳως διαλέγηται, ἡ δ' ὀφρὺς ἐπίκειται τῷ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ ἤθει, μεστὴ δ' ἡ παρειὰ χολῆς, τουτὶ γὰρ μάλιστα ἐπιφαίνει.

Mart. 5.6.10.

Cum fulget placido suoque vultu

Tac. *H.* 4.40. Et ignotis adhuc moribus crebra oris confusio pro modestia accipiebatur.

Tac. *Agr.* 45. Cum denotandis tot hominum palloribus sufficeret saevus ille vultus et rubor, quo se contra pudorem muniebat.

Plin. *Paneg.* 48. ad hoc ipse occursu quoque visuque terribilis: superbia in fronte, ira in oculis, femineus pallor in corpore, in ore impudentia multo rubore suffusa.

Stat. *Silv.* 4.2.40.

Ipsum, ipsum cupido tantum spectare vocavit
Tranquillum vultus et maiestate serena
Mulcentem radios summittentemque modeste
Fortunae vexilla suae; tamen ore nitebat
Dissimulatus honos.

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(1) Nowhere in Suetonius (*Cal.* 35.2; *Nero* 51; *Vesp.* 8.5; *Gram.* 17) has *pulcher* the depreciatory sense that it has in Catullus 79.

(2) Cf. Venter obesus, *Vit.* 17.2; ventre proiecto, *Nero* 51; ventre paulo proiectiore, *Tit.* 3.1.

(3) Spindling legs. Cf. *Cal.* 3.1, gracilitas crurum, and 50.1, gracilitate maxima cervicis et crurum; *Nero* 51. gracillimis cruribus.

(4) Bentley's suggestion that the MSS. reading *remacruerant* should be changed to *emacruerant* seems sensible in view of Cels. 2.4, Mali morbi signum est, nimis celeriter emacrescere.

COMMENDARI SE VERECUNDIA ORIS ADEO SENTIEBAT, UT APUD SENATUM SIC QUONDAM IACTAVERIT: "USQUE ADHOC CERTE ET ANIMUM MEUM PROBASTIS ET VULTUM." CALVITIO ITA OFFENDEBATUR, UT IN CONTUMELIAM SUAM TRAHERET, SI CUI ALII IOCO VEL IURGIO OBIECTARETUR;(5) QUAMVIS LIBELLO, QUEM DE CURA CAPILLORUM AD AMICUM EDIDIT, HAEC ETIAM, SIMUL ILLUM SEQUE CONSOLANS INSERUERIT (*ILIAD* 21.108):
"οὐχ ὁρά<ᾳ>ς,(6) οἷος κἀγὼ καλός τε μέγας τε;
EADEM ME TAMEN MANENT CAPILLORUM FATA, ET FORTI ANIMO FERO COMAM IN ADULESCENTIA SENESCENTEM. SCIAS NEC GRATIUS QUICQUAM DECORE NEC BREVIUS."

Juv. 4.38.

Cum iam semianimum laceraret Flavius orbem
Ultimus, et calvo serviret Roma Neroni.

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(5) Nevertheless Martial[1] makes many jests at the expense of bald-headed people. Unlike Domitian, Vespasian was not at all sensitive concerning his lack of hair.[2]

(6) ὁρᾷς, Ω.

(5) [1] Mart. 2.41.10; 3.93.2; 5.49; 6.57; 6.74.2.
[2] Dio 66.17.

XIX. LABORIS IMPATIENS PEDIBUS PER URBEM NON TEMERE AMBULAVIT, IN EXPEDITIONE ET AGMINE EQUO RARIUS, LECTICA ASSIDUE VECTUS EST. ARMORUM NULLO, SAGITTARUM(1) VEL PRAECIPUO STUDIO TENEBATUR. CENTENAS VARII GENERIS FERAS SAEPE IN ALBANO(2) SECESSU CONFICIENTEM SPECTAVERE PLERIQUE ATQUE ETIAM EX INDUSTRIA ITA QUARUNDAM

Dio 67.6. οὐ γὰρ ὅτι τό τε σῶμα ἄπονος καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἄτολμος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀσωτότατος καὶ ἀσελγέστατος καὶ πρὸς γυναῖκας καὶ πρὸς μειράκια ἦν.

Plin. *Paneg.* 14. Per hoc omne spatium cum legiones duceres seu potius (tanta velocitas erat) raperes, non vehiculum umquam, non equum respexisti.

Plin. *Paneg.* 24. Ante te principes fastidio nostri et quodam aequalitatis metu usum pedum amiserant.

Plin. *Paneg.* 82. Nec vero laudaverim per se magno opere duritiam corporis ac lacertorum. Sed si his validior toto corpore animus imperitet, quem non fortunae indulgentia molliat, non copiae principales ad segnitiem luxumque detorqueant, tunc ego, seu montibus seu mari exerceatur, et laetum opere corpus et crescentia laboribus membra mirabor.

Ps. Aur. Vict. *Epit.* 11.5. Sagittarum tam doctus fuit, ut inter patentes digitos extentae manus viri procul positi spicula eius transvolarent.

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(1) The Romans did not classify *sagittae* as arms. Cf. Festus p. 3, (Lindsay): Arma proprie dicuntur ab armis, id est humeris, dependentia, ut scutum, gladius, pugio, sica: ut ea, quibus procul proeliamur, tela; p. 502, (Lindsay): Tela proprie dici videntur ea, quae missilia sunt, ex Graeco videlicet translato eorum nomine, quoniam illi τηλόθεν missa dicunt quae nos eminus. This distinction is clearly seen in the following lines from Ovid *Ars. Am.* 3.383:

Sunt illis celeresque pilae, iaculumque, trochique
Armaque, et in gyros ire coactus equus.

Vopiscus (*Aurel.* 4) however is not strictly accurate when he says: quo non se pilo et sagittis ceterisque armorum exerceret officiis.

(2) The Alban villa of Domitian was situated on the western border of the Lacus Albanus and on the Via Appia, at a distance

CAPITA FIGENTEM, UT DUOBUS ICTIBUS QUASI CORNUA EFFICERT. NONNUMQUAM IN PUERI PROCUL STANTIS PRAEBENTISQUE PRO SCOPULO(3) DISPANSAM DEXTERAE MANUS PALMAM SAGITTAS TANTA ARTE DEREXIT,(4) UT OMNES PER INTERVALLA DIGITORUM INNOCUE EVADERENT.

of fourteen miles from Rome. During the later period of the republic the vicinity of Alba became a favorite resort of the wealthy Roman nobles, who constructed villas here on a magnificent scale (Cic. *Pis.* 31; *Mil.* 19; 20; *Att.* 7.5.3; 9.15.1; *de Orat.* 2.55.224; Plut. *Pomp.* 53). It was, however, to Domitian that the place owed its chief aggrandizement (*Dom.* 4, 19; Dio 66.9; 67.1). The permanent establishment there of a detachment of praetorian guards, which is repeatedly mentioned by writers down to the time of Constantine (Spart. *Carac.* 2; Capitol. *Maximin.* 23), probably dates from this time. It is doubtless on account of this fortified camp that we find the title "Arx Albana" applied to the imperial residence of Domitian (Tac. *Agr.* 45; Juv. 4.145).

(3) *Scopulus* is a diminutive of *scopus* (σκοπός), which means a target and occurs in this sense only here.

(4) *derexit* s, *derexerit* Q; the other MSS. have *direxit*.

XX. LIBERALIA STUDIA IMPERII INITIO NEGLEXIT, QUANQUAM BIBLIOTHECAS(1) INCENDIO ABSUMPTAS IMPENSISSIME REPARARE CURASSET,(2) EXEMPLARIBUS UN-

(1) Burman and some other scholars think that *bibliothecas* necessarily refers either to the library of Ptolemy Philadelphus at Alexandria, which was destroyed during Caesar's Alexandrine War,[1] or to the Pergamene library, which was given by Antony to Cleopatra and transferred to Alexandria. The *bibliothecas* here mentioned were however more probably at Rome. During the great fire under Titus the library connected with the portico of Octavia was destroyed by fire.[2] The library of the temple of Augustus seems to have been removed probably as a result of the same fire, by Domitian, for it was restored to its old place in the temple by Trajan in 101.[3] Domitian no doubt rebuilt these libraries and perhaps others of which we have no specific mention. If Suetonius had had the restoration of the Alexandrine libraries in mind, he would hardly have said, *missisque Alexandream qui describerent emendarentque*, as that would have been carrying "owls to Athens." The more natural interpretation is that Domitian sent persons to Alexandria to secure copies of books in the libraries there to replace those which had perished in the conflagration at Rome. Aurelius Victor[4] evidently derived this meaning from Suetonius, for he writes: *bibliothecas incendio consumptas petitis undique, praesertim Alexandria, exemplis reparavit.* Moreover, there is no mention of any disaster befalling the Alexandrine libraries between Julius Caesar and Domitian, and it is highly probable that losses occasioned by the former's Alexandrine War had been made good long before the time of Domitian.

(2) Elsewhere in Suetonius *curare* in the sense of the German *lassen* and French *faire* is always followed by the accusative of the gerundive construction.[1] The above construction is post-Augustan. Cf. Colum. 9.9: Duces seditionem interficere curabis.

(1) [1] Dio 42.38.
[2] Dio 66.24.
[3] Friedl. on Mart. 12.37.
[4] Ps. Aur. Vict. *Epit.* 11.4.

(2) [1] *Aug.* 17.1; 38.1; 70.2; *Tib.* 25.3; 63.2; *Cl.* 9.1; 11.2; *Gr.* 8; Lane 2250.

DIQUE PETITIS MISSISQUE ALEXANDREAM QUI DESCRIBERENT EMENDARENTQUE. NUMQUAM TAMEN AUT HISTORIAE CARMINIBUSVE NOSCENDIS OPERAM ULLAM AUT STILO VEL NECESSARIO DEDIT.(3) PRAETER COMMENTARIOS(4) ET ACTA(5) TIBERI CAESARIS NIHIL LECTITABAT; EPISTULAS ORATIONESQUE ET EDICTA ALIENO(6) FORMABAT INGENIO.

SERMONIS TAMEN NEC INELEGANTIS, DICTORUM INTERDUM ETIAM(7) NOTABILIUM: "VELLEM," INQUIT, "TAM

Tac. *H.* 4.40. Quo die senatum ingressus est Domitianus, de absentia patris fratrisque ac iuventa sua pauca et modica disseruit . . .

Dio 67.2. τὸ δ' ὅλον, ἔλεγε τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας τοὺς μὴ πολλοὺς κολάζοντας, οὐκ ἀγαθοὺς ἀλλ' εὐτυχεῖς εἶναι.

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(3) See *Dom.* 2.2.

(4) Cf. *Tib.* 61.1: etsi commentario, quem de vita sua summatim breviterque composuit, ausus est scribere. . . .

(5) These were called the *acta senatus*,[1] *acta patrum*[2] or *commentarii senatus*.[3] The publication of a record of proceedings in the senate was instituted by Julius Caesar in his first consulship.[4] Augustus is said to have suppressed the journal.[5] By the time of Tiberius the senator superintending the *acta* was appointed by the princeps,[6] which suggests the possibility of garbling the record. Some account of the proceedings in the senate, probably much abridged, appears still to have been made public in the *acta populi*.[7]

(6) *alieno*, ς; *alfeno*, M G Υ; the greater number of the X class have *alieno alfeno*.

(7) For a similar use of *neque* . . . *etiam* see *Vesp.* 15. *ad fin.*

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(5) [1] *Jul.* 20.
[2] Tac. *A.* 5.4.1.
[3] Tac. *A.* 15.74.3.
[4] *Jul.* 20.1
[5] *Aug.* 36.
[6] Tac. *A.* 5.4.1.
[7] Tac. *A.* 16.22.6; Plin. *Ep.* 7.33.3.

FORMOSUS ESSE, QUAM MAECIUS(8) SIBI VIDETUR;" ET CUIUSDAM CAPUT VARIETATE CAPILLI SUBRUTILUM ET INCANUM "PERFUSAM NIVEM MULSO" DIXIT.

XXI. (AC)(9)"CONDICIONEM PRINCIPUM MISERRIMAM AIEBAT, QUIBUS DE CONIURATIONE COMPERTA NON CREDERETUR NISI OCCISIS.(10)"

QUOTIENS OTIUM ESSET, ALEA(1) SE OBLECTABAT, ETIAM

(8) The same as Mettius Pompusianus. See on *Dom.* 10.3.

(9) A connective is obviously necessary here. Roth suggests *et*, but Alexander (p. 31) by comparing Suetonius' use of connectives in all series of principal verbs parallel to *inquit* . . . *dixit* . . . *aiebat* makes out a good case for *ac* in the above passage.

(10) Dio (54.15) expresses himself on this subject as follows: πολλὰ γὰρ ὧν ἂν ὁ κρατῶν πρὸς τιμωρίαν, ὡς καὶ ἐπιβεβουλευμένος, ἤτοι δι' ἑαυτοῦ ἢ καὶ διὰ τῆς γερουσίας πράξῃ, ὑποπτεύεται κατ' ἐπήρειαν, κἂν ὅτι μάλιστα δικαιότατα συμβῇ, γεγονέναι.

Vulcatius Gallicanus (*Avid.* 2) attributes this remark to Hadrian: Scis enim ipse quid avus tuus Hadrianus dixerit: "Misera conditio imperatorum, quibus de assectata tyrannide nisi occisis non potest credi." Eius autem exemplum ponere, quam Domitiani, qui hoc primus dixisse fertur, malui. Tyrannorum enim etiam bona dicta non habent tantum auctoritatis, quantum debent.

Plin. *Paneg.* 82. An non plerique principes hoc idem tempus in aleam, stupra, luxum, conferebant, cum seriarum laxamenta curarum vitiorum contentione supplerent?

Stat. *Silv.* 5.1.121. Ipsa dapes modicas et sobria pocula tradit,
exemplumque ad herile monet;

Mart. 4.8.9. Et bonus aetherio laxatur nectare Caesar
Ingentique tenet pocula parca manu.

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(1) The law forbidding gambling is at least older than the time of Plautus.[1] The Digest[2] contains an edict of the praetor

(1) [1] *Mil. Glor.* 164.
[2] 11.5.

PROFESTIS DIEBUS(2) MATUTINISQUE HORIS, AC LAVABAT DE DIE(3) PRANDEBATQUE(4) AD SATIETATEM, UT NON TEMERE(5) SUPER CENAM PRAETER MATIANUM(6) MALUM ET MODICAM IN AMPULLA(7) POTIUNCULAM SUMERET.

and a *S. C.*, but no *lex*. The aediles enforced the law in taverns.[3] However, either by law or custom gambling was permitted during the Saturnalia,[4] and apparently on other *dies festi* as well, since in the above passage the emphasis is on the fact that Domitian played on *profestis diebus* and not on the wrong in gambling itself. This pastime was extremely popular during the first century[5] and many of the emperors were very much addicted to it.[6]

(2) Macrob. *Saturn.* 1.16.2: festi dis dicati sunt, profesti hominibus ob administrandam rem privatam publicamque concessi, intercisi deorum hominumque communes sunt.

(3) The usual hour for the bath was the eighth or ninth,[1] but some persons took it before the *prandium*,[2] as did Alexander Severus.[3] Commodus is said to have bathed seven or eight times per day.[4] *De die* here means in the forenoon; see Rolfe, *Class Phil.* 8, pp. 7 ff.

(4) The *prandium* corresponded to the English luncheon and usually came at midday (Tac. *A.* 14.2 *Aug.* 78.1; *Cl.* 34.2).

(5) Suetonius frequently uses *non temere* in the sense of "rarely," "hardly ever," etc. Cf. *Aug.* 73; *Cal.* 30; *Cl.* 42; *Nero* 15.1; *Tit.* 6.2; 8.3.

(6) C. Matius, after whom this apple was named,[1] was a friend of Augustus and invented the art of clipping arbors.[2] He is also said to have written on cookery.[3]

(7) Cf. Martial's epigram (14.110) entitled "Ampulla Potoria":

Hac licet in gemma, servat quae nomina Cosmi.
Luxuriose, bibas, si foliata sitis.

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(1) [3] Mart. 5.84.
[4] Mart. 4.14.7; 11.6.
[5] Juv. 8.10; 11.176.
[6] *Aug.* 70 and 71; Dio 59.22; *Cal.* 41; *Cl.* 33.2.

(3) [1] Plin. *Epist.* 3.1.8; *ad Att* Cic. 13.52.1; Mart. 4.8.5.
[2] Juv. 11.204.
[3] Lamprid. *Alex. Sev.* 30.5.
[4] Lamprid. *Comm.* 11.5.

(6) [1] Plin. *N. H.* 5.49.
[2] Plin. *N. H.* 2.3.
[4] Colum. 2.44.

CONVIVABATUR FREQUENTER AC LARGE, SED PAENE RAPTIM, CERTE NON ULTRA SOLIS OCCASUM NEC UT POSTEA COMISARETUR.(8) NAM AD HORAM SOMNI NIHIL ALIUD QUAM SOLUS SECRETO DEAMBULABAT.(9)

(8) The *cena* or *convivium*, as it was called if guests were present, usually began at the ninth (Cic. *Epist.* 9.26.1, *Accubueram hora nona*; Hor. *Epist.* 1.7.71, *post nonam venies*; Mart. 4.8.6, *imperat exstructos frangere nona toros.*) or the tenth hour (Mart. 1.108.9; 7.51.11). At Rome the ninth hour would vary according to the season from one-thirteen to two-forty-six P. M. and the tenth from one fifty-eight to four-two P. M. The *cena* always lasted for what would seem to us a very long time (Plin. *Epist.* 3.1.9; 3.5.13), and might even be prolonged into the night (Cic. *de Sen.* 14.46). Some persons found the afternoon too short for the dinner and began in the forenoon (Liv. 23.8.6; Catull. 47.6; Plaut. *Asin.* 825; Eutr. 7.18). A *convivium* was sometimes followed by a *comissatio* (cf. *Cal.* 32.1; 36.2; *Vit.* 13.1). Martial and Statius were so proud of an invitation to one of Domitian's banquets that they declared an invitation from Jupiter himself would not have caused them more pleasure (Mart. 8.39, 9.91; Stat. *Silv.* 4.2, especially vv. 10 ff.); but Pliny (*Paneg.* 24, 49) implies that on such occasions Domitian was disdainful and incapable of according anything with good grace.

(9) Cf. Dom. 3; Tac. *Agr.* 39; Plin. *Paneg* 48.

XXII. LIBIDINIS NIMIAE, ASSIDUITATEM CONCUBITUS VELUT EXERCITATIONIS GENUS "CLINOPALEN"(1) VOCABAT; ERATQUE FAMA, QUASI(2) CONCUBINAS IPSE DEVELLERET(3) NATARETQUE INTER VULGATISSIMAS MERETRICES. FRATRIS FILIAM(4) ADHUC VIRGINEM OBLATAM IN MATRIMONIUM SIBI CUM DEVINCTUS DOMITIAE NUPTIIS PERTINACISSIME RECUSASSET, NON MULTO POST ALII CONLOCATAM CORRUPIT ULTRO ET QUIDEM VIVO ETIAM TUM TITO; MOX PATRE AC VIRO ORBATAM ARDENTISSIME PALAMQUE DILEXIT, UT ETIAM CAUSA MORTIS EXTITERIT COACTAE CONCEPTUM A SE ABIGERE.

Plin. *Paneg.* 63. An stuprorum sibi incestarumque noctium conscii auspicia polluere sacratumque campum nefario auderent contaminare vestigio?

Cf. Mart. 11.7.

Iam certe stupido non dices, Paula, marito,
  Ad moechum quotiens longius ire voles,
"Caesar in Albanum iussit me mane venire,
  Caesar Circeios." Iam stropha talis abit.
Penelopae licet esse tibi sub principe Nerva:
  Sed prohibet scabies ingeniumque vetus.

Cf. Dio 67.6, quoted on *Dom.* 19.

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(1) *clinopalim*, κλίνη 'couch' (κλίνω, 'recline'), πάλη, ἡ 'wrestling.'

(2) See on *Dom.* 10.2.

(3) *develleret*, g; the other MSS. have *divelleret*.

Juv. 2.32.

Cum tot abortivis fecundam Iulia vulvam
Solveret et patruo similes effunderet offas.

Plin. *Epist.* 4.11.6. Cum ipse fratris filiam incesto non polluisset solum verum etiam occidisset; nam vidua abortu periit.

Dio 67.3. κἀκ τούτου τῇ ἀδελφιδῇ τῇ ἰδίᾳ, ἤγουν τῇ Ἰουλίᾳ, ἀπαρακαλυπτότερον ὡς γαμετῇ συνῴκει.

Philos. *Apol.* 7.7. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Σαβῖνον ἀπεκτονὼς, ἕνα τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ξυγγενῶν, Ἰουλίαν ἤγετο, ἡ δὲ Ἰουλία γυνὴ μὲν ἦν τοῦ πεφονευμένου, Δομιτιανοῦ δὲ ἀδελφιδῆ, μία τῶν Τίτου θυγατέρων.

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(4) Julia. See Price on *Tit.* 4.2. In spite of her relations with Domitian Julia put Vesta on the reverse of some of her coins (Cohen, *Julie*, p. 467 n. 15 ff.).

XXIII. **OCCISUM EUM POPULUS(1) INDIFFERENTER, MILES GRAVISSIME TULIT STATIMQUE DIVUM APPELLARE CONATUS EST, PARATUS ET ULCISCI, NISI DUCES DEFUISSENT; QUOD QUIDEM PAULO POST FECIT EXPOSTULATIS AD POENAM PERTINACISSIME CAEDIS AUCTORIBUS.**

CONTRA SENATUS ADEO LAETATUS EST, UT REPLETA CERTATIM CURIA NON TEMPERARET, QUIN MORTUUM CONTUMELIOSISSIMO ATQUE ACERBISSIMO ADCLAMATIONUM GENERE LACERARET, SCALAS ETIAM INFERRI

Ps. Aur. Vict. *Epit.* 12.8. Milites, neglecto principe, requisitos, Petronium uno ictu Parthenium vero, demptis prius genitalibus et in os coniectis, iugulavere, . . .

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(1) The Romans had come to consider Domitian another Nero and a bad one at that.[1]

Plin. *Paneg.* 49. ille tamen quibus sibi parietibus et muris salutem suam tueri videbatur, dolum secum et insidias et ultorem scelerum deum inclusit. Dimovit perfregitque custodias poena angustosque per aditus et obstructos non secus ac per apertas fores et invitantia limina inrupit, longeque tunc illi divinitas sua, longe arcana illa cubilia saevique secessus in quos timore et superbia et odio hominum agebatur.

Plin. *Paneg.* 52. Ergo istae quidem aereae et paucae monent manebuntque, quam diu templum ipsum. Illae autem aureae et innumerabiles strage et ruina publico gaudio litaverunt. Iuvabat inlidere solo superbissimos vultus, instare ferro, saevire securibus, ut si singulos ictus sanguis dolorque sequeretur. Nemo tam temperans gaudii seraeque laetitiae, quin instar ultionis videretur cernere laceros artus, truncata membra, postremo truces horrendasque imagines obiectas flammis excoctasque, ut ex illo terrore et minis in usum hominum ac voluptates ignibus mutarentur.

Plin. *Paneg.* 58. Quin etiam leviora haec, formam principis figuramque, non aurum melius vel argentum quam favor hominum exprimat teneatque.

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(1) [1] Juv. 4.38; Tertul. *Apol.* 5, *portio Neronis de crudelitate*; Tertul. *de Pallio* 4, *Subnero*; Mart. 11.33 with Friedländer's note.

CLIPEOSQUE(2) **ET IMAGINES EIUS CORAM DETRAHI ET IBIDEM SOLO AFFLIGI IUBERET, NOVISSIME ERADENDOS UBIQUE TITULOS ABOLENDAMQUE OMNEM MEMORIAM DECERNERET.**(3)

ANTE PAUCOS QUAM OCCIDERETUR MENSES CORNIX(4)

Dio 68.1. μίσει δὲ τοῦ Δομιτιανοῦ αἱ εἰκόνες αὐτοῦ, πολλαὶ μὲν ἀργυραῖ πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ χρυσαῖ οὖσαι, συνεχωνεύθησαν, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν μεγάλα χρήματα συνελέγη. καὶ αἱ ἁψῖδες, πλεῖσται δὴ ἑνὶ ἀνδρὶ ποιούμεναι καθηρέθησαν.

Macrob. *Saturn.* 1.12.37. Sed ubi infaustum vocabulum ex omni aere vel saxo placuit eradi, . . .

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(2) Plin. *N. H.* 35.12: Verum clipeos in sacro vel publico dicare privatim primus instituit, ut reperio, Appius Claudius qui consul cum P. Servilio fuit anno urbis CCLIX; posuit enim in Bellonae aede maiores suos placuitque in excelso spectari et titulos honorum legi. . . . 35.13, Post eum M. Aemilius collega in consulatu Quinti Lutati non in basilica modo Aemilia verum et domi suae posuit, id quoque Martio exemplo. Scutis enim, qualibus apud Troiam pugnatum est, continebantur imagines, unde et nomen habuere clipeorum, non, ut perversa grammaticorum subtilitas voluit, a cluendo. Origo plena virtutis faciem reddi in scuto cuiusque qui fuerit usus illo. Poeni ex auro factitavere et clipeos et imagines secumque in castris vexere. . . . Maiorum quidem nostrorum tanta securitas in ea re adnotatur ut L. Manlio Q. Fulvio coss. anno urbis DLXXV M. Aufidius tutelae Capitolio redemptor docuerit patres argenteos esse clipeos qui pro aereis per aliquot iam lustra adsignabantur.

(3) The great number of Domitian's coins which have come down to us,[1] makes it highly improbable that the Senate withdrew from circulation all money bearing his name, as it did in the case of Geta.[2]

(4) Cf. Plin. *N. H.* 10.60.3, Cornix . . . plura contexta verba exprimens et alia crebro addiscens; Ov. *Met.* 2.547, *Garrula . . . cornix*; Ov. *Fast.* 2.89, *loquax . . . cornix.*

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(3) [1] Cohen, *Domitien, passim.*
[2] Dio 78.12.

IN CAPITOLIO ELOCUTA EST: ἔσται πάντα καλῶς, NEC DEFUIT QUI OSTENTUM SIC INTERPRETARETUR:

"NUPER TARPEIO QUAE SEDIT CULMINE CORNIX
'EST BENE' NON POTUIT DICERE, DIXIT: 'ERIT.'"

IPSUM ETIAM DOMITIANUM FERUNT SOMNIASSE GIBBAM SIBI[5] PONE CERVICEM AUREAM ENATAM, PRO CERTOQUE HABUISSE BEATIOREM POST SE LAETIOREMQUE PORTENDI REI PUBLICAE STATUM,[6] SICUT SANE BREVI EVENIT ABSTINENTIA ET MODERATIONE INSEQUENTIUM PRINCIPUM.

Ps. Aur. Vict. *Epit.* 13.10. (de Traiano) . . . ut adveniens imperium eius pleraque mirifica denuntiaverint. In quis praecipuum cornix e fastigio Capitolii Atticis sermonibus effata καλῶς ἔσται.

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(5) Cf. *Dom.* 16.1.

(6) *rerum statum publice*, M; *rei statum publicae*, G; *statum rei publicae*, X.